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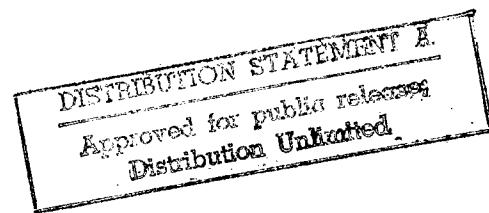
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23 January 1986

# China Report

RED FLAG

No 23, 1 December 1985



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23 January 1986

## CHINA REPORT

## RED FLAG

No 23, 1 DECEMBER 1985

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China published in Beijing.

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TAKING THE WHOLE INTO ACCOUNT, COMPARING EACH OTHER'S CONTRIBUTIONS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 85 p 2

["Forum"]

[Text] The 15 years beginning with 1986 will be a crucial period for our country's economic development. During the Seventh 5-Year Plan, we not only should but also can do our work in all fields better than we did in the period of the Sixth 5-Year Plan. This is because: As compared with things 5 years ago, our ideas have been better unified; our policies have become clearer and more coordinated; the structure of our cadres has become more reasonable and harmonious; and the international environment has become more favorable to our cause. Of course, in order to make our reforms a success and to successfully build the two civilizations, the whole party, from top to bottom, must be better united and work with one heart and one mind to lead the people to make great efforts on the basis of the above-mentioned conditions. Our cadres, especially leading cadres, are thus required to seriously study Marxist theory, take the lead in making themselves people with a lofty ideal, moral integrity, good education, and a sense of discipline, and work to establish a fine general mood, in which people have an overall viewpoint, cherish unity, work in a down-to-earth manner, and emulate each other in making greater contributions.

By having an overall viewpoint, we mean that our cadres should proceed from the well-being of the people and the interests of the country, adhere to the four basic principles, and subject themselves to the long-term fundamental interests of the state and the people, when considering and handling things. Some things may be feasible in a specific locality, but they may cause unwanted consequences in the whole country; or some things seem undesirable to a specific locality, but they may be necessary and must be done in the whole country. In these cases, local and partial interests must be subject to the overall and national interests. Of course, this does not mean that we will not need to give thought to the individual and partial interests. Instead, what we should do is to better coordinate the interests of all parts in the light of the principle of overall consideration. If we do not give priority to the overall interests or if we just try to seek partial and individual interests at the expense of the overall interests, or to seek immediate gains at the expense of our long-term interests, we will certainly incur losses in both. We should do our best to prevent this state of affairs.

The program of socialist modernization on the basis of stability and unity represents the greatest interest of the whole nation. Maintaining stability and unity is an important demonstration of our overall viewpoint. At present, our party and state are situated in a special historical period. It is of great significance to strengthen unity in the whole party and in the whole society. On the one hand, in the past 20 to 30 years, we were involved in too many political movements and made many mistakes, and this caused many problems in cadre relations; on the other hand, we are facing some arduous tasks in the next 10 to 20 years and we will certainly encounter many new questions and new contradictions in the course of creating a new situation and building socialism with Chinese characteristics, and this will also give rise to new differences in cadres' ideas and viewpoints. To cope with problems in the above two aspects, we must first cherish unity. The four basic principles form a political foundation for the unity of the whole party and the whole nation. All of our comrades and leading organs must contribute to the maintenance of unity on the basis of adhering to the four basic principles. All sorts of partial interests should be subject to the overall interests of maintaining the country's order and stability and reinvigorating the country.

To keep the overall interests in mind, our comrades should be encouraged to emulate each other in making greater contributions. If we merely compare each other's positions, wages, and fringe benefits, we may feel disheartened. This will not be favorable to our unity or to the development of our reforms and the modernization cause. Our comrades should be farsighted. As long as our country becomes stronger and our modernization cause is making advances vigorously, every one of us will certainly have a bright future, and various problems in our livelihood will be gradually solved.

To compare each other's contributions, we mean that we should see who can really do more good things for the people and can achieve actual results in work. Our comrades must bear in mind the following two points: First, we communists must always have a realistic attitude and work for actual good results. At no time should we try to seek false fame by doing things merely for show. Second, all our policies and measures must be really implemented at the grassroots and among the masses. Whether the masses in the grassroots units are willing to accept and implement our policies and measures is a factor which finally determines the success and failure of our plans and policies. At present, some of our good measures, policies, and documents have not been put into practice in the grassroots units and among the masses; instead, they remain in the realm of paperwork and cadres' speeches. That is, they have not been effectively implemented. Therefore, the central leadership in recent years has repeatedly stressed: Our cadres must go deep into the grassroots units and among the masses to discover and help settle problems, to do propaganda work among the masses, to organize and educate the masses, and to guide them to make progress. Only when we really take action to do so can we make greater contributions to the cause of the party and the people.

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THE GREAT SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DECEMBER 9TH MOVEMENT--SPEECH DELIVERED ON  
9 DECEMBER 1939 AT A RALLY IN YANAN TO MARK THE FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE  
DECEMBER 9TH MOVEMENT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 85 pp 3-7

[Speech by Mao Zedong]

[Text] Comrades:

We hold a rally today to mark the fourth anniversary of the December 9th Movement. All the young people here are full of vigor and vitality. It is indeed a lively rally! More than one rally has been held in Yanan commemorating the December 9th Movement, but I was unable to attend any of them. I feel very excited that I can attend this one today.

I believe that things in China can be handled even better now. What must we do in China? We must oppose imperialism and the forces of darkness, as the Chinese people have been doing for 100 years since the Opium War. That is a long time. Although they have not fulfilled their task, it is, after all, much easier to deal with this matter now, because the Kuomintang diehards have greatly strengthened their anticommunist activities and struck at the progress in the field of culture.<sup>1</sup> Some people have said now: It is hard to do things in China. Those people work hard to achieve progress, and they fight for the interests of the state and the nation. They are filled with enthusiasm and good intentions to straighten up the state and the nation. However, at the crucial moment of the war of resistance against Japan, they saw the dark shadows of surrender, splits, and retrogression cast by the diehards in their vicinity. Their efforts were restricted and suppressed in various ways. They invariably felt that it was hard to do things. This is one side of the matter. We naturally resolutely oppose the perverse acts of the diehards. However, as far as the overall situation is concerned, we believe that compared with before, it is much easier, not more difficult, to do things in China now.

Why is that? We must explain this by the December 9th Movement we commemorate today.

First, what is the December 9th Movement, after all? You comrades all understand, and Comrade Li Chang has also explained it just now. However, we must

further understand: In what kind of political environment did it take place? What is its political significance? What kind of political impact does it have on China? By understanding these questions, we will be able to see that the situation in China is markedly different from that in the past and that it is much easier now, not more difficult, to do things in China than before.

After the 10,000-li Long March, the Red Army arrived in Wuqi township, northern Shaanxi, in October 1935. The enemy was still attacking us then. In late November that year we even won three battles in Fu County.<sup>2</sup> While we were celebrating the victories, we heard the news about the December 9th Movement in Peiping on 10 December. How jubilant we were! The Red Army comrades completed such a great Long March, while the student comrades launched such a great national salvation movement in Peiping. Both were struggles for the liberation of the nation and the people and of direct significance in giving impetus to the war of resistance against Japan. In historical terms, the December 9th Movement was an extremely important aspect in preparing for the war of resistance against Japan.

Some people said: The December 9th Movement is not as good as the May 4th Movement. That is to say, the former is not as politically significant as the latter. Is this correct? No, it is incorrect. We believe they are of equally great significance.

The May 4th Movement was preparation for the Northern Expedition. The Northern Expedition would have been unthinkable without the May 4th Movement. Some people think the student movement is now powerful. But what are the facts? The May 4th Movement, launched by the broad masses of students, inspired the June 3d national strike by workers, shopkeepers, and students in their struggle against imperialism and the traitorous government and developed into a nationwide movement. After the May 4th Movement, the Communist Party of China was born, bringing about the first cooperation between the Kuomintang and the CPC, whipping up the May 30th Movement, starting the Northern Expedition, and giving rise to the first great revolution. It is thus obvious that without the May 4th Movement, the first great revolution would have been impossible. The May 4th Movement indeed prepared public opinion, public support, and public thinking, and prepared the cadres for the first great revolution.

As for the December 9th Movement, it was preparation for the great war of resistance against Japan, similar to the May 4th Movement which was preparation for the first great revolution. The December 9th Movement gave impetus to and prepared for the July 7th war of resistance against Japan.

Let us survey the circumstances surrounding the outbreak of the December 9th Movement. On the one hand, the movement broke out in the Kuomintang ruling area where the Communist Party was considered absolutely powerless and illegitimate and during the war period of "suppression of the communists" by the reactionary Kuomintang when the communists were under military and cultural "encirclement and suppression." It is needless to recount the past hardships of the Communist Party and the Red Army during the so-called war of "suppression of the communists." Later, the Red Army embarked on the

Long March. They traversed 25,000 li [in actual distance], and people gave them "send-offs" from behind along the way. People also "greeted" them in the front and sent them "gifts" from the sky. The gifts were bombs. Notwithstanding the incessant "send-offs" and "greetings," the Red Army eventually arrived in northern Shaanxi. However, the enemy continued to deliver bullets as gifts from the front and the back. In other words, the Red Army was still under "encirclement and suppression" after their arrival in northern Shaanxi. Such were the circumstances of the military "encirclement and suppression." How about cultural "encirclement and suppression"? The enemy built "blockhouses" in school campuses, in books, newspapers and magazines, as well as in social, cultural, and educational organizations. They "advanced steadily and struck sure blows and entrenched themselves at every step." We can perceive this point simply by reading the writings by Lu Xun. His militant essays criticizing social evils are in opposition to cultural "encirclement and suppression" and to the oppression of the thinking of the youth. On the other hand, the Japanese imperialists had occupied northeast China and were planning to "turn northern China into a special region," and were actively making preparations to destroy the whole of China. Hence, the 450 million people clamored to fight Japanese imperialism. Yet, some people raised opposition. They also wanted to fight, but whom did they want to fight? The Communist Party, the young students, and the progressive people in the cultural circles. The common people throughout the country told them: You are going in the wrong direction. We firmly oppose you. Such is the other side of the circumstances for the outbreak of the December 9th Movement. The situation turned for the better after the outbreak of the December 9th Movement. The Xian Incident was peacefully resolved. The Kuomintang government's tactics of fighting the Communist Party instead of Japanese imperialism no longer worked. They were forced to abandon the policy to "suppress the communists" and veered around to the road of preparations for the war of resistance against aggression. This led to the convocation of the Third Kuomintang Central Committee Plenary Session and the formal declaration on the formation of the National United Front Against Japanese Aggression. The December 9th Movement has rendered great contributions in this respect.

Here, we must pay particular attention to the close relationship between the Red Army's Long March and the December 9th Movement. The movement broke out when the Red Army marched north to fight against Japanese aggression and arrived in northern Shaanxi. The triumph of the Red Army's 25,000-li Long March assisted the movement, while the latter also rendered assistance to the Red Army. The combination of the two incidents brought about the war of resistance against aggression by the whole nation, rendered assistance to the Chinese nation, and furthered national interests.

The CPC Central Committee's 1 August declaration called on all the nation's people to fight against Japanese imperialism, and thereby spurred the development of the trend of national unity in the war of resistance against aggression. The December 9th Movement broke out when the CPC issued the 1 August declaration, the Red Army triumphantly arrived in northern Shaanxi, and the Japanese imperialists stepped up aggression against China. The broad masses of young students rose to oppose oppression by the authorities,

to fight against Japanese imperialist aggression against China, and to demand both an end to the civil war and national unity against Japanese aggression. The outbreak of the movement caused a sensation throughout the country. In coordination with the Red Army's Northern Expedition against Japanese aggression, the movement promoted peace at home and the war of resistance against Japan, and helped turn the movement against Japanese aggression into a national one. Hence, the December 9th Movement mobilized the entire nation against aggression. It made ideological and psychological preparations against aggression and prepared cadres for fighting the war of resistance against Japan. The relation between the December 9th Movement and the war of resistance against Japan is all the more conspicuous if we contrast it with the relation between the May 4th Movement and the Northern Expedition. Because the December 9th Movement is complemented by the triumph of the Red Army's Long March, the time separating the movement and the war of resistance is even shorter. In short, the December 9th Movement will become a very important event in Chinese history. After the outbreak of the movement and the war of resistance against Japan, China's anti-imperialist cause advanced more smoothly.

Second, it is more easy now to oppose the forces of darkness which oppress young students and intellectuals, and the forces of darkness find it has become increasingly more difficult to oppress young students and intellectuals. The December 9th Movement proved this point. The forces of darkness attempted to oppress progressive ideas, but they inevitably failed in the end. Prior to the December 9th Movement, they had carried out 8 years of anti-communist education in a well-planned way. All school courses with a political inclination were, first of all, based on the principle of opposing communism and Marxism; teachers who were considered communists or Marxists were excluded and persecuted. From the second half of 1927 they carried out this education for as long as 8 years and, very unfortunately, the result was the "December 9th." This was, to be sure, extremely regrettable for those anti-communist gentlemen in the Kuomintang. Some people say that "December 9th" was a rebellion by the students. The students admitted this. It was indeed a rebellion. However, against whom did they rebel? They rebelled against their oppressors, those who suppressed their ideas, and those who preached the fake three people's principles. The purpose of their rebellion was to put into practice the real three people's principles, that is, the ones favoring alliance with the Soviet Union and the Communist Party and support for the peasants and workers. They rebelled to remove all obstacles in the way of implementing the three people's principles. Should they participate in such a rebellion? The answer is yes, yes, and yes.

Things in the world can be very strange. A person bumps his head against a nail on the wall, he is hurt, he strokes his head, and later he forgets all about it. You see, some people refused to recognize the May 4th Movement. Now, they do. Today some people still do not recognize the December 9th Movement. However, if the "May 4th" experience applies here, they cannot but recognize "December 9th" some day. If they persistently refuse to recognize it, then we should allow them to choose the last one of the 36 strategems, that is, simply put, to ask them to beat it. The world is progressing forward; going backward won't do. The pigtail of the Chinese

is a thing of the past; there is no pigtail for them to wear even if they want. Old, backward things cannot but collapse, to be replaced by new, progressive things. With the progressive trends, if people still do not recognize or even disdain the December 9th Movement, then there is no question that they will meet some bad luck some day.

Young students nowadays are more sensible. They are sharper than when I was a student. I went to school for a couple of years, and all I learned at that time was what the classics and Confucius preached. I was under the impression that all government officials and emperors were good. Later, I attended a Western-style school and was exposed to revolution. I learned that emperors were bad. I also learned that the capital of the United States is Washington, the capital of Britain is London, that X plus Y equals Z, and things like numerators, atoms, and electrons. Nowadays, you not only know this stuff but also about Marxism. At that time, I did not know who Marx was. This proves that you are now more progressive than we were. When World War I broke out, the upper circles favored joining the Entente countries to help Britain and France fight against Germany and Austria. Their argument seemed impressive and logical, and they did deceive some people. When World War I ended in 1918, China also convened a meeting in Beijing to mark the occasion. They erected, with great fanfare, a stone tablet with the inscription "Justice Triumphs."<sup>3</sup> Many people were confused at that time. However, times are different now. China is forever progressing forward. The Chinese people now understand world affairs and they understand revolution. They get this knowledge gradually; they knew little before, and they know a lot now. They understand that the wars of the imperialists are unjust and predatory by nature. They also understand the schemes and intrigues of the Japanese imperialists, the sinisterness and ruthlessness of the capitulationist clique and the diehards, and they understand democratic constitutional government. They have a clear understanding, want progress and democracy, and want to participate in government and political affairs. However, to truly establish a democratic and constitutional government everyone needs to come forward to struggle. In order to establish such a government, youth, students, workers, and peasants throughout the country must join hands in the struggle. People have become wise now, and they are not to be fooled easily. They all keep their eyes wide open<sup>4</sup> to see who is withholding democracy, who wants a split, who wants to surrender and who wants retrogression. In "Gods and Heroes," Jiang Ziya had an unworthy junior fellow apprentice by the name of Shen Gongbao, whose face was on the back of his head and whose eyes therefore were looking backward.<sup>5</sup> At present, there are a number of "Shen Gongbao's," or retrogressionists, hidden in the anti-Japanese camp. They want to drag China backward. They are a reactionary force oppressing the progressive force in China today. Let's say that they have the freedom to oppress. Nevertheless, the broad masses of youth, workers, and peasants in China have another kind of freedom--the freedom to resist reactionary forces. We do not permit reactionary forces to drag China backward. Can we stop them? Yes, we can, because the people in China today are not to be deceived easily. At present, most people do not permit them to oppress, surrender, divide, and go backward; and most people want to oppose their oppression, persistently resist Japanese aggression, unify, and make progress. Let us wait and see how those "Shen Gongbao's" are going to end it all.

Third, what is the relationship between the December 9th Movement and the CPC? The CPC no doubt played a backbone role in the December 9th Movement. It would have been impossible for the December 9th Movement to take place if the CPC had not played that backbone role. First of all, the CPC's 1 August declaration had provided the youth and students with a clear and definite political principle. Next, the arrival of the Red Army in northern Shaanxi had promoted the national salvation movement in northern China. The third factor was the direct leadership of the CPC northern bureau and CPC organizations in Shanghai. It was in such a situation that the December 9th Movement started, gained momentum at various levels in China and became a great political force for an all-people national salvation movement. Youth and students were like the wood fueling the December 9th Movement, and all we needed then was a match to ignite it. Who struck the match? The CPC did. Since its founding, the CPC has integrated itself with youth, students, and intellectuals. Therefore, only by standing together with the CPC can youth, students, and intellectuals embark on a correct road. The intellectuals will not have great strength, nor can they make great accomplishments if they do not integrate themselves with the workers and the peasants. The revolutionary ranks will not be able to make great accomplishments either if they do not include intellectuals. Only when intellectuals have correctly integrated themselves with the workers and the peasants, can we have invincible strength. Therefore, intellectuals should integrate themselves with the CPC, the broad masses of workers and peasants, the revolutionary armed forces, the 8th Route Army, and the New 4th Army. The CPC members should make it clear to our sympathizers that the CPC welcomes intellectuals very much and wants to unite with them. Of course, we should oppose a few bad intellectuals who sabotage our revolution, the intellectuals who commit treason, and the "Shen Gongbao-type" intellectuals. It is a crime not to oppose such intellectuals, and to oppose them is in the interests of the nation and the people.

At present, many young intellectuals have no freedom, nor the right to travel. For instance, there are many roadblocks along the road from Xian to Yanan, making it very difficult for young intellectuals to get to Yanan. Instead, the young intellectuals have been rounded up and taken to the "training centers" in concentration camps, because they do not have the same weapon, horse, and martial art skills as Guan Yu did.<sup>6</sup> It seems that it is difficult to solve this problem. However, things will be easy if the intellectuals integrate themselves with the 8th Route Army, the New 4th Army, and the guerrillas, or in other words, if the pen and the rifle are integrated. With such an integration, we will have no fear of any imperialists and diehard elements. With such an integration, will those dogs dare to come to bite us?

Since the Opium War, the Chinese people have had 100 years of experience in the struggle against imperialist and reactionary forces. With the addition of the CPC's 18 years of experience in struggle, what can't we do? So, things in China are easier to do now than before. We must resist Japanese aggression until we win a final victory, overthrow Japanese imperialism, and found a democratic republic. At present, the imperialists and "Shen Gongbao's" are still constantly obstructing us from doing so. Don't worry.

We have become wise and have strength. We are no longer the people of yesterday, but the people of today. Imperialists and "Shen Gongbao's," it is time for you to scram!

#### FOOTNOTES

1. After the fall of Wuhan to the Japanese in October 1938, the Kuomintang gradually shifted the stress of its policy from resistance against Japan to opposing the CPC and the people. The Fifth Plenary Session of the Fifth Kuomintang Central Committee, held in January 1939, formulated a policy of "melting communists," "preventing communists," "confining communists," and "opposing communists," and adopted a "Procedure for Preventing and Stopping the Activities of Other Political Parties." After April 1939, the Kuomintang successively started many anticomunist armed clashes, such as the Boshan Massacre, the Queshan Massacre, and the Pingjiang Massacre; attacked and killed the cadres and fighters of the 8th Route Army and the New 4th Army; and dispatched troops to encircle and blockade the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area. In December 1939, Yen Hsi-shan's troops in western Shanxi launched surprise attacks on an anti-Japanese dare-to-die corps led by the CPC and started the first anticomunist upsurge of the Kuomintang diehards. At the same time, the Kuomintang government energetically strengthened its fascist dictatorship. In the ideological and cultural fields, it stepped up news censorship; banned progressive newspapers, journals, and books; forced the reorganization or disbanding of anti-Japanese literary and art organizations; arrested and even killed anti-Japanese cultural workers; and persecuted progressive personages of the cultural circles.
2. Fu County is some 60 kilometers south of Yanan in Shaanxi Province. The three battles were fought by the Red First Front Army in the Zhiluozhen Campaign west of Fu County. On 21 November 1935, the Red Army wiped out most of the enemy's 109th Division at Zhiluozhen. On 23 November, the Red Army wiped out a regiment of the enemy's reinforcement, the 106th Division, in the Zhangjiamen area. On the 24th, the Red Army exterminated the remnants of the enemy's 109th Division which were surrounded at Zhiluozhen. Wuqi township, located 120 kilometers west (to the north) of Yanan, is now the seat of Wuqi County, Shaanxi Province.
3. In November 1918 after the end of World War I, the people in Beijing dismantled the Von Ketteler monument. Von Ketteler was the German minister killed in June 1900 during the Boxer Uprising. In accordance with the 1901 treaty, the Qing government apologized to Germany and erected a memorial monument for Von Ketteler north of Dongdan Archway. The Beijing people then erected the "Justice Triumphs" stone tablet in the Central Park (now renamed Zhongshan Park). After the founding of the People's Republic, the stone tablet was rebuilt into a "Defend Peace" archway.
4. The words "wide open" here are in Hunan dialect in the original.

5. Jiang Ziya is the leading character in "Gods and Heroes" who assisted King Wu of the Zhou Dynasty in launching a punitive expedition against King Zou. Shen Gongbao is a character who went against the historical trend, and opposed the punitive expedition launched by Jiang Ziya and King Wu against King Zou.
6. Guan Yu, a character in the novel "Three Kingdoms," had a famous weapon and a famous horse. With them, he killed six enemy generals and went through five passes guarded by enemy troops.

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THE ACADEMIC THEORETICAL PUBLICATION THE STUDY OF MARXISM WILL FORMALLY BEGIN PUBLICATION NEXT YEAR

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 85 p 7

[Publication news]

[Text] Recently the Marxism-Leninism Mao Zedong Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences decided to change its original collection of THE STUDY OF MARXISM to a large-scale (quarterly) academic theoretical publication for distribution at home and abroad next year.

THE STUDY OF MARXISM is primarily a publication revealing the most important achievements in the study in our country of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. The contents include (editions of) the original works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Zedong, and other Marxist theoreticians; the theoretical studies of the writers of Marxist classics and other Marxist theoreticians; the study of major theoretical and practical problems in Chinese and world socialist revolution and socialist construction; and the status, materials and book reviews on the study of Marxism abroad.

THE STUDY OF MARXISM is a great "assistant" for the cadre of party and government organizations and theoretical workers. The cost is 2 yuan per copy or 8 yuan for all four annual quarterly issues (including regular postage) which can be remitted in a single payment. Subscriptions can be sent to the circulation department of the Marxism-Leninism Institute of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (5 Jianguo Dajie), Beijing.

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## SOME QUESTIONS ON REFORM OF COURSES IN MARXIST IDEOLOGICAL THEORY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 85 pp 8-13

[Article by RED FLAG Editorial Department]

[Text] Our schools of higher learning all have courses in Marxist theory. Primary and middle schools also have courses in ideology and politics and in ideology and morals, guided by Marxism. These courses have a very important role in bringing up persons who are developed morally, intellectually, and physically, especially in shaping our young people's outlook on life and the world. Generally speaking, the lessons learned from such courses in the past were good. The teachers responsible for these courses worked very hard and made major contributions. However, the situation has changed and there should be a corresponding change in our course work in ideological theory. Otherwise, such courses will be unable to meet the needs of our country at this time, especially our young students. We should now adopt effective measures to carry out an overall reform and improve the arrangement of such courses, their content and their method of teaching, so as to make them truly effective spiritual weapons in arming the students with a better outlook on life and the world with Marxism.

Courses in Marxist ideological theory fulfill a very important place in school education. These courses are the soul of school education as a whole and the core of the party's ideological and political education in schools. They spell the difference between socialist and capitalist schools. Thus, these courses are like the four basic principles, which reflect the nature of our country. The role of these courses cannot be replaced by any other courses, because they determine the political orientation of our school education and the political orientation of the students we have trained. Such courses should therefore be given first priority in our schools at all levels. The decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on reform of the economic structure says: "It is necessary to persist in educating the vast numbers of teachers and students in Marxism, inspire them to be resolved to courageously strive for and make contributions to the prosperity and powerfulness of the motherland, ensure that students will have an all-round moral, intellectual, and physical development and make schools become truly mighty bastions in resisting the corrosive influences of capitalism and other decadent ideologies and building up the socialist spiritual civilization." This shows that we must unwaveringly and unswervingly

continue to adhere to the fundamental orientation of courses in Marxist ideological theory.

Marxist theory is truth developing along with practice, and its vitality lies in its close adherence to reality. The teaching of courses in ideological theory in schools should be carried out in close connection with the reality of our country and the contemporary world. The teaching of such courses should also take into account the development of young people's thought and psychology. Comrade Qu Xiao, who was described as a "true horseherd," once said the following, which calls for deep thought: "One of the characteristics of college students of the 1980's is being especially practical. If you show them things from the standpoint of reality and can solve practical problems, they will have confidence in you. They are not interested in Marxist phrases of more than 100 years ago. In order to truly uphold Marxism, we have to enrich and develop it." This is an absolutely correct idea.

#### Marxism Is a Constantly Developing Science

In reforming the teaching of courses in Marxist ideological theory, we must first of all have a correct ideological viewpoint that Marxism is not a closed, solidified system. Like any other science, it has developed constantly with time. Its birth was an inevitable result in the development of human history, rather than the conjectures of a couple of individuals. Its development was inevitable historically; otherwise, it is not a science. Marxism consists of fundamental tenets and methods derived from synthesizing and analyzing human wisdom in history. These tenets and methods in themselves reflect recognition that the world is developing, that science is developing, that they themselves are developing, and that they themselves must develop and be continually supplemented and enriched along with the development of history and science. Engels said: "Along with every epoch-making discovery in the realm of natural science, materialism will also inevitably change its own pattern." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 224) If the philosophy of materialism needs to constantly develop along with the changing times, so do other aspects of Marxism. If it is said that the birth of Marxism mainly reflected scientific achievements before the mid-19th century (not only in the field of natural science, but also in other fields like social science, philosophy, and so on), following the death of Marx and Engels, Marxists should also constantly enrich and perfect Marxism along with the development of natural science and, to a certain extent, with the development of the social sciences. Neither Marxist philosophy and economics nor Marxist theory in other fields should lag behind scientific developments and revolutionary and socialist practice.

As noted, since the 20th century both natural science and philosophy have made much headway. Many philosophical questions were raised during the engendering and developing process of the theory of relativity, quantum mechanics, biology and psychology, as well as systematics, cybernetics, and the theory of information. The raising and resolution of these questions have greatly enhanced the standing of Marxism and demonstrated that Marxism is really objective truth. Although some people did not personally accept

Marxism, the theories or scientific hypotheses put forth by them have enriched dialectical materialism. On the other hand, many facts have now demonstrated that many scientific questions could not have been cleared up easily without Marxism. Beginning from the 19th century, and in particular in the 20th century, many so-called paradoxes sprang up in science. After the Godel theorem was published, the contradictions which people encountered in science became more acute. Deviating from the viewpoints of dialectical materialism, many questions of natural science would fall into a state of self-contradiction. Early this century, Lenin said: "As natural science has developed so fast and is right in the era when such deep-going revolutionary reforms are taking place in every field, in any case natural science cannot do without the philosophical conclusions." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 610) People's understanding of elementary particles can be an example. Of course, Marxism cannot possibly, and should not, replace other sciences. However, those fundamental questions arising in the course of the development of science and questions directly connected with Marxism must be seen in the light of Marxism and then given an appropriate answer. How can good results be achieved in education on Marxist ideological theory if no proper answers are given to these fundamental questions? For instance, during the middle of the 19th century, due to the birth of "On Capital," political economics scaled the heights of the times. However, it did not stop developing. In the 20th century economics has undergone great developments and applying mathematical methods in economic study can be regarded as a development. Marx held that only when mathematics can be successfully applied to science can it be regarded as being truly consummate. (See "Recall Marx" by Lafargue) Although applying mathematical methods in studying economics first originated in the capitalist countries, some methods, like the input-output method, which is fairly scientific, can also be applicable in socialist countries. Of course, economic science in socialist countries has also made remarkable headway. Not only have new spheres been opened up in the socialist part of political economics, but departmental economics has extensively developed, with the emergence of planned economics, economics of productive force, economics of technology, labor economics, and so on. Some branches of economics which existed long ago, such as banking theory, public finance, and accounting, have also enriched and renewed their contents, with many interdisciplinary subjects evolving. We should take a scientific attitude which Marx always upheld to summarize and study the development of economics of the 20th century. Marx always paid full attention to the contributions to a certain question from all previous and contemporary economists, including even insignificant ones, and he mentioned them in his works. We should do the same. It is also necessary to appropriately evaluate those schools of economics which run counter to Marxism in fundamental principles. However, the evaluation must be in conformity with facts, analytical, and reasonable but not oversimplified. Only by so doing can we effectively foster the students' ability to discriminate and analyze these ideological trends with Marxist viewpoints.

Being the founders of scientific socialism, Marx and Engels did not have the opportunity of seeing socialism realized in any country. Even the Paris Commune they experienced did not really practice socialism. One of the great reforms in the 20th century was changing the scientific socialism of Marx and

Engels from theory into reality. This is a leap which has ushered in a new era in human history. Socialist society is a completely new social system. During the practice of socialism, many new questions have been raised, these were neither experienced by Marx and Engels, nor predicted or timely solved by Lenin. Lenin died shortly after the first socialist country was born and the "new economic policies" were being carried out. Although Marx, Engels, and Lenin did make some predictions as to socialism, which have already proved to be true through practice, there are also some hypotheses which do not tally with or completely tally with the practice of socialism. This is unavoidable. Therefore, we should not be totally restricted by such predictions. For example, Marx' theory of state has undergone great changes through the practice of socialism. The mission during Marx' time was to make revolution and overthrow capitalist rule. For this reason, his theory of state stresses that state is an instrument of class struggle and class dictatorship. Fundamentally speaking, this is logical. Nevertheless, history has proved that it is insufficient when only this fundamental point is mentioned. A socialist country should have many functions. Even in a capitalist country, the function of the state should not be limited just to class oppression and dictatorship. It should also engage in economic and social management, even if that is not its main function. As a representative of the system of ownership by all the people, the function of economic and social management of a socialist country should be much greater.

Nevertheless, this does not mean that Marxism is outdated or that it does not work. As great thinkers of materialism, Marx and Engels never tried to envisage things they had no way of knowing. They did not make any subjective assertions about the concrete development of socialism. On the contrary, they believed that socialist society would not remain static, but would constantly undergo changes and reforms as any other social system. Following the victory of the October Socialist Revolution in Russia, socialism has become a practice for millions of people. Marxism has also been judged, enriched, and developed in practice. This is in conformity with dialectics. Our task is to take up the torch left by Marx, Engels, and Lenin and keep on forging ahead, using the newest scientific achievements to explain and constantly develop and enrich this doctrine, so as to make it advance with the times, develop along with the real world, and constantly enrich itself as science is enriched.

#### Marxism Is the Cream of All the Knowledge and Wealth Created by Mankind

Regarding the source of Marxism, in his article entitled "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism," Lenin pointed out: "The Marxian doctrine is omnipotent because it is true. It is complete and harmonious, and provides men with an integral world conception which is irreconcilable with any form of superstition, reaction, or defense of bourgeois oppression. It is the legitimate successor to the best that was created by mankind in the 19th century in the shape of German philosophy, English political economy, and French socialism." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 441) These three are more direct sources but do not include all the sources of Marxism. The source of Marxism could be critical summation of all cultural knowledge, scientific knowledge and thought since the dawn of history. For

instance, Marxism set a high value on French physiocracy, even though it was not the classical English political economics. Similarly, Marxist philosophy did not solely develop on the basis of the classical German philosophy, in spite of the close relationship between the two. As we all know, Marx' academic paper on the philosophy of Epicurus was devoted to the philosophy of ancient Greece; and many other philosophical works by Marx also touched upon the philosophy of ancient Greece. Thus it can be seen that the origin of Marxist philosophy could be traced back to the philosophy of ancient Greece. The birth and development of modern materialism and idealism did not take shape in Germany, but in Britain and France. We are unable to clearly explain this without mentioning the struggle between idealism and materialism in Britain and France. Another example, historical materialism, was created by Marx, but not out of thin air. Marx once said that he did not invent the theory of class struggle, that such a theory had been raised by capitalist historians in France much earlier. Therefore, this can also be counted as a source of Marxism. Also, utopian socialism was not unique to France, as both Italy and Britain had their own leading exponents. Moreover, utopian socialism was not the sole source of Marxism in the field of political ideology. Therefore, the political ideology of Marx could be separated from neither the development of political ideology in Europe nor historical developments from ancient to modern times and from the Renaissance, in particular the Enlightenment, to the French Revolution. Many slogans of Marxism, like the slogan of "uninterrupted revolution," came from the French Revolution. We just cannot clearly explain the source of political ideology of Marxism without providing an introduction to the background of political ideology and history. On the one hand, Marxism was an inevitable outcome of the development of science; on the other hand, it was an outcome of the development of political movements and struggles. The cultural, political, and historical background throughout Europe was the soil which gave birth to Marxism. Here, let's review a famous speech by Lenin in "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues": "If you were to ask why the teachings of Marx were able to capture the hearts of millions and tens of millions of the most revolutionary class, you would receive only one answer: It was because Marx took his stand on the firm foundation of human knowledge acquired under capitalism. Having studied the laws of development of human society, Marx realized the inevitability of the development of capitalism, which was leading to communism. But the main point is that he proved this only on the basis of the most exact, most detailed, and most profound study of this capitalist society, by fully assimilating all that earlier science had produced. He critically reshaped everything that had been created by human society, not ignoring a single point. Everything that had been created by human thought he reshaped, criticized, tested on the working-class movement, and drew conclusions which people restricted by bourgeois limits or bound by bourgeois prejudices could not draw." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 347) Lenin was against the erroneous idea that as long as people can understand the slogans and conclusions of communism they can become communists. He explicitly pointed out: "Only when you enrich your mind with all the wealth of knowledge created by mankind can you become a communist." (Ibid., p 348)

Representing an entirely new era for mankind in understanding society, Marxism is no longer one of the numerous socialist schools or ideological trends. Rather, through the test of revolutionary practice, it has become the banner of victory for the broad masses of the proletariat and other laboring peoples in the world. Some of the other socialist schools of thought which once coexisted with Marxism do not have very much influence now. Some vanished into naught a long time ago. But why can only Marxism sweep the world with tremendous momentum and keep alive the fervor of youth? Only by getting a comprehensive understanding of the history of the birth of Marxism can we correctly answer this question.

In offering courses in Marxist theory, it is necessary to make students understand Marxism as a complete ideological system. At the same time, it is also necessary to give students an analytical introduction to the relevant schools of thought, academic viewpoints, as well as era backgrounds and social systems in order to enable them to learn to think in the course of analysis and to arrive at conclusions in the course of comparison. In this way, students can arrive at a conclusion after having gone through independent thinking. When students have learned how to judge a question independently, as Lenin pointed out in his lectures on "The State," their faith will be very firm. They will always strictly adhere to this faith before anyone and under any circumstances.

#### To Educate Students To Foster a Correct Outlook on Life and the World

The primary purpose of conducting education on Marxist ideological theory is to enable students to foster a correct outlook on life and the world. Over a protracted period of time, emphasis was given only to a world outlook, not on an outlook on life. This was not regarded as necessary so long as one had a correct world outlook. This is wrong. Education on ideology and morals among primary school students should include a rudimentary understanding of the world and an outlook on life. For example, in coordination with the contents of the classes of language and literature, history and art, and extra-curricular activities, we should, by giving some vivid and practical examples in everyday life, conduct education for general social knowledge (including general legal knowledge) and social ethics, focusing on the "five stresses on decorum, manners, hygiene, discipline, and morals and the four beauties of the mind, language, behavior, and the environment" and the "five loves for the motherland, the people, labor, science and public property." We should teach students to foster from childhood good moral character and correct behavior and habits, including the habit of everyone being equal before truth and human dignity, the habit of abiding by social orders and public regulations in social life, the habit of being diligent in study, industrious in work, and frugal in living, and the habit of helping and loving each other in collective life and activities. Let them gradually cultivate the ability to manage their lives and help their family, others, and the public. By conducting such education, we can gradually make students understand various social phenomena. For example, why should we have the People's Liberation Army? Why should we have the police? As there are good guys as well as bad guys in society, when encountering bad guys doing evil, both adults and children should have their respective responsibilities and methods for

dealing with them. Also, what is the relationship between various government organizations of the state and the children and the children's families? What is the relationship between the children themselves and their families? When some changes have taken place in a child's family, what attitude should he adopt and how should he adapt himself to these changes? It is necessary to conduct this education by citing some concrete and practical examples in everyday life rather than abstract principles. As a result of family planning, there are more and more one-child families. As these only sons and daughters can be easily spoiled, we should conduct pertinent education among them to enable them to understand the harmful consequences of parental indulgence of children. By giving practical examples in everyday life, such education will help primary school students grasp principles on how to deal with certain situations and place demands on themselves in a way that is fully comprehensible and practicable for primary school students. Although this education is already being carried out, it needs to be greatly perfected. As the phenomenon of imbuing students with abstract concepts does exist in our educational work, this would make children be treated as adults. This is deviating from the requirements of materialism toward idealism. Although forcing some requirements to adjust on children and imbuing students with abstract concepts by simple methods can achieve some superficial results, not many real results will be scored in the long run.

In conducting education on world outlook among middle school students, especially senior middle school and college students, it is necessary to help them foster a correct outlook on life. While they should correctly understand the world and the relationship between spirit and matter, the subjective and the objective, freedom and necessity, and appearance and essence, they should all the more correctly understand the meaning of life and the relationship between individual and society, right and obligation, happiness and sacrifice, reform and tradition, success and failure, feelings and reason, environment and perseverance, advanced people and the masses, and ideals and reality. They should, first of all, understand the reason of one's existence and know how to conduct oneself. The reason Lei Feng could become a hero is because he often considered these questions. We just cannot solve these questions well by simply stressing the importance of a world outlook education. As world outlook education mainly explains some fundamental questions within very extensive scopes, there are many complicated questions in people's lives which cannot possibly be touched upon by stressing a world outlook. For example, the people's attitude toward life and death is a very important question. If a person cannot solve this question well, he does not have a correct attitude toward his life. Furthermore, dialectics and materialism do not directly deal with the question of what people live for. There are also many other questions: How should a person look upon his life? What exactly is the value of people's existence? What is the meaning of life? How should people find a way out when locked in an extremely difficult and dangerous position? How should people deal with their reputation and benefit? These and other questions are of the utmost priority for each youngster, as well as adult. If these questions are not handled properly one may make serious mistakes, ignoring what they have been taught about a world outlook. It is quite common for one to recite many principles of world outlook from memory, but to take a completely wrong attitude toward

questions of more vital interests. These are questions which are not properly handled by secondary school and college students, not to mention adults and old people.

The fundamental questions concerning outlook on life are how one should treat oneself, society, and others, what attitude one should take in the relationship between oneself and others and between individual and society, and what one should do if one's personal interests conflict with those of others and with those of society. Of course, in solving such questions we should understand that individuals do live in society. If there were no society there would be no individuals. However, some thinkers have a completely different opinion, saying that if there were no individuals there would be no society. This is not scientific. There is a famous proposition, dating back to Aristotle, namely, that the whole is greater than the sum of each part. If we pile up all the parts of a human body, such as eyes, ears, skin, bones, internal organs, and so on, could we create a living person? Certainly not. Only when the parts of a human body are organically formed can a life be created. Life and the totality of each part of a human body are two different things. Therefore, we should not regard society as the sum of its individuals. Life itself is a whole system, which is not equal to the sum of each part composing the whole system. It would be wrong if we do not regard this issue from this point of view. Proceeding from different starting points, there may be an individualistic or collective outlook on life. These two totally different outlooks on life also represent two fundamentally different concepts of society and history. Therefore, to correctly resolve this question is a question of education over a protracted period of time.

Education on outlook on life is inseparable from education on ideals and morality. What is the meaning of life? Suppose the answer is that the meaning of life is to give, not to take. Of course, this may not be a very good expression. However, it touches on the fundamental question concerning outlook on life. Handling the relationship between giving and taking involves every aspect of one's life; moreover, this is a lifelong question and will exist forever. Then, what kind of ideals should one have, and how should one handle the relationship between individual ideals and social ideals? Without providing proper answers to these questions, it will be impossible to foster a correct outlook on life.

Ultimately, education on outlook on life will touch on the question of world outlook. For example, on the question of life and death, Comrade Mao Zedong once said: All men must die, but death can vary in its significance. He also quoted the sayings of Sima Qian, saying that to die for the people is heavier than Mount Tai, but to work for the fascists and die for the exploiters and oppressors is lighter than a feather. Here both a question of outlook on life and a question of world outlook are involved. However, we should realize the great difference in scope between the two and should not regard outlook on life simply as a natural extension of a world outlook. We should guide education on outlook on life to ultimately foster a correct world outlook, but we should never neglect the great significance of education on outlook on life. In this field, very few of us have made systematic studies so far. Better teaching material is needed.

The reform of courses on Marxist ideological theory involves many questions, and the above-mentioned are only some of our thoughts on several questions. As for how to carry out the reform, the "Notice of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on Reform of Curricula of Moral Ethics and Political Theories in Schools" has already put forth principles and requirements which are being enforced in practice, so it is unnecessary to go into details in this article.

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## CARRY OUT SYSTEMATIC EDUCATION TO CORRECT THE WORK STYLE OF CADRES

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[Article by Yang Xizong [2799 2649 4844]]

[Text] The problem of cadres' work style is a problem of great concern both within and outside the party and to the masses, and it urgently awaits resolution. The problem facing party and government organs at all levels in Henan is particularly acute. This requires a high degree of attention and the adoption of feasible, effective measures to resolve it.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, great successes have been achieved in all aspects of work in Henan, and the overall situation is good. The reason for this fine situation cannot be separated from the hard work of the vast masses of cadres and the united efforts of all the people. Facts have shown that the majority of Henan's cadres are quite good. However, we must soberly recognize that in this fine situation, there exist many difficulties and problems which cannot be overlooked. For example, the work styles of many cadres have shortcomings. This is a serious obstacle blocking our road forward. It has not only resulted in certain losses in our work, but has seriously affected relations between the party and the masses, had bad effects on the turn for the better in social atmosphere and harmed the stability and development of the excellent situation.

The outstanding problems in cadres' work styles at present include: 1) The problem some cadres have in handling the relationship between public matters and private matters has not been well resolved. When faced with a matter, they do not think about the interests of the state, the nation or the masses, but whether it will be of advantage to themselves. In the last few years as we have opened to the outside world and enlivened the domestic economy, this has been particularly noticeable as some cadres have brazenly placed the party's cause and the interests of the people to the back of their mind, looked for profits and forgotten righteousness, used their power for private gain, bled the state while fattening themselves, and greatly engaged in unhealthy tendencies. 2) In their work, some cadres only pursue reputation rather than seeking real results. They like to just put up a "framework" and only worry about external appearances. They only report good news without mentioning the bad, sometimes even exaggerating and lying to their superiors. 3) Some comrades do not engage in thorough investigation and

research, do not follow the mass line, and do not do things in accordance with objective laws. In work, they are used to "acting uniformly," "rushing headlong into mass action," and "raising a hue and cry." 4) A small number of cadres do not see themselves as "public servants" of the people and do not serve the people diligently and conscientiously. Rather, they set themselves above the masses. They pay no attention to party discipline or state law, and frequently impose on the masses arbitrary "local policies" and "local laws." Although these situations are not an intrinsic or major problem for the overall cadre ranks, an ant hole can cause the collapse of a thousand-li dike. If our leaders at the various levels in provinces, prefectures, and counties do not have a sufficient understanding of the seriousness of this problem, look on it as unimportant, and do not put great efforts and much time into resolving it, our cause will be harmed even more.

There are historical reasons why, within the Henan cadre ranks, especially among grassroots cadres, these various work style problems have existed for a long period. In the latter part of the 1950's due to "leftist" mistakes in work guidance and violations of objective laws, there widely occurred the "five trends"--a "communist trend," a trend to boasting and exaggeration, a trend to arbitrary and impractical directions, a trend to seeking privileges, and a trend to compulsion and commandism. At that time, Henan was one of the provinces where these "five trends" were most serious, and this greatly affected the quality of Henan's cadres. During the "Cultural Revolution," Henan was again one of the "major disaster areas." During the long 10 years in which Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran wild, they engaged in feudal fascist autocracy and wantonly trampled on socialist democracy and the legal system. This brought unprecedented damage to the party's fine traditions, to the overall party style, which included cadre work style, and to the social atmosphere. In the last few years, many of the shortcomings and problems in the work style of Henan's cadres have been due to the fact that these pernicious influences have not been eliminated. It can even be said that the problems of those years have been revived and continued.

Another major reason for the problems in cadres' work style is that the quality of the cadres themselves is not high. Through the bringing of order out of chaos on the ideological front and the organizational readjustment since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the structure of the Henan cadre ranks has tended to become more rational and ideological quality has been raised. However, because of a lack of systematic education and insufficient study by the cadres themselves, quite a number of cadres, especially those at the grassroots level, still have the problem of "three lows": 1) Their level in terms of Marxist theory and Marxist ideology is quite low. They do not understand the character and work style they should have as revolutionary cadres, and do not understand the Marxist leadership methods and leadership techniques. Much less are they good at using a Marxist stand, viewpoints, and methods to observe and resolve various complex contradictions. In facing the new situations and new problems which continually emerge, they feel quite helpless and can only express ideas or make decisions on the basis of their narrow experiences or feelings at the time. It even happens that, in engaging in the four modernizations, they

intentionally or unintentionally, seek assistance in those things they are familiar with--class struggle and mass movements. 2) Their policy levels are quite low. They are unable to accord with the actual situations of their regions or departments and cannot fully and correctly implement the party's principles and policies. As a result they sway this way and that way, first to the "left" and then to the right. 3) Their educational and professional qualities are quite low. They lack the knowledge and abilities necessary for leading and organizing socialist modernization with Chinese characteristics. These are all important reasons for the problems in cadres' work styles.

If we look at the leadership factors behind the failure to resolve well the long-standing problem of cadres' work styles, we see that on the one hand it is related to the existence to varying degrees of bureaucratism and subjectivism in the leadership organs. If, in setting tasks, the upper levels do not proceed from reality and do not act in accordance with abilities, and when distributing tasks call for the lower levels to handle things "in a uniform fashion," do not give them any decisionmaking power or flexibility, make great demands in terms of time and requirements, and even raise the requirements at each level, then this will put great pressure on the grassroots cadres. It will also aid in the growth of a crude and simple work style. In another respect, this problem is also related to the lack of education provided to the lower levels by the upper-level leaders. Some upper-level organs also stress the use of cadres but look lightly on their education. Or else they only use them and completely ignore education. They only know how to blindly push tasks and burdens down to the lower levels, and do not pay attention to educating the lower-level cadres in the correct way to complete the tasks. When problems occur, they often simply investigate individual responsibilities. They are unable to correctly sum up experiences, draw lessons, and conduct research so as to put forward methods by which to resolve these problems. Thus as time goes by and new questions crop up, the old problems reappear.

Of course, the work style problems which have occurred in some of the Henan cadres, especially some of the grassroots-level cadres, also have social causes. For a long period, Henan has been rather backward economically and culturally, and has also been affected by the blockades brought about by the self-sufficient and semi-self-sufficient economies. The feudal and patriarchal concepts and small producer mentality and habits which have come down over thousands of years are inevitably reflected in this way or that way in our leaders' work style and leadership methods. For example, the arbitrary and imperious work style by which one does not consult with the masses over matters and only allows people to act under orders is a custom bequeathed by the feudal, patriarchal system based on the small producer economy. At the same time, in the new situation, where we are opening to the world and enlivening the domestic economy, some cadres have become disoriented by the changed situation and cannot withstand the effects and corrosion of decadent capitalist ideology which appears in various forms. Their ideals and concepts of discipline are weakened and individual ideologies develop. This also is a reason why problems occur in cadres' work styles.

Clearly, resolving the work style problem of the Henan cadres is not going to be an easy job. It needs to be treated very seriously and will require a great amount of arduous and painstaking work. It requires that, on the basis of correctly assessing the actual situation in the cadres' ranks, we adopt cautious and correct policies and methods. On the one hand, we cannot "stand up and fail to see the ants." That is, we cannot just see the good side of the cadre ranks, and fail to see the seriousness of the problems in cadres' work styles at present and the necessity, urgency, and formidable nature of resolving such problems. Likewise, we cannot close one eye in looking at the problems in cadres' work styles or adopt an attitude of appeasement or procrastination on the basis that rectifying the cadres' work style will "dampen" the cadres' enthusiasm. On the other hand, we cannot "squat down and look only at the ants." We cannot see the cadre ranks as being all bad, without any redeeming features. Likewise, we should not recklessly regard all cadres, especially those at the grassroots level, as being of the same type and again engage in the former crude and oversimplified ways. Henan has in the past suffered greatly due to these two factors, especially the latter one, and has learned extremely deep-going lessons. At the beginning of the 1960's, when Henan was correcting the trend to exaggeration, the "communist trend" and other problems which had arisen in 1958 with the "Great Leap Forward," many areas adopted the method of raising a hue and cry. They indiscriminately gathered the cadres together and using the methods of class struggle, carried out so-called "supplementary classes in democratic revolution" for the cadres. They grossly exaggerated things, made arbitrary criticisms and denunciations, and engaged in large numbers of dismissals and replacements. This ideology deviated from the principle of seeking truth from facts, and in organs they implemented "leftist" practices in imposing penalties. This not only did not resolve the problem, but actively helped the "leftist" ideological style and work style and seriously harmed cadres' enthusiasm. Many cadres refused in their hearts to accept decisions, as they had been subject to punishments they did not deserve. Grievances remained, their spirits were not invigorated, and they were passive in their work. A small number of cadres who really had committed serious mistakes did not have their problems solved on the ideological level and, although organizationally they were punished, they were unable to draw the proper lessons and thus the aim of learning from past mistakes to avoid future ones was not realized. This erroneous method of using "leftism" to oppose "leftism" indeed did not enjoy popular support. We should long remember these lessons of the past.

Recently, Comrade Hu Yaobang has clearly pointed out: In resolving the problem in the Henan cadres' work styles at this time, we must mainly rely on painstaking educational work. This does not mainly involve issuing calls, issuing documents, and even less does it involve the former method, common in Henan, of raising a hue and cry. Rather, it requires the method of relying on facts and stressing logic. However, it also includes being determined in changing a small number of people who really are incompetent. This is the correct guiding principle for resolving this problem. The various levels of party and government organizations here in Henan must achieve ideological unity on this principle and must firmly implement it. That is to say, we cannot perfunctorily and generally issue documents which casually make calls

on this matter. Likewise, we cannot run wild or engage in things in a simplistic way. Rather, in accordance with the principle of "doing much in changing ideas and doing little in changing personnel," we must base ourselves on raising the cadres' ideology in terms of serving the people, and correct their attitudes on the party's cause. Through systematic education of the cadres, and carrying out deep-going and meticulous ideological and political work, and on the basis of really making clear the differences between ideological right and wrong, we must truly resolve well the problems in cadres' work styles. At the same time, the small number of cadres who have very serious problems, are unprincipled in their attitudes, and will have difficulty gaining the forgiveness of the masses, must be seriously handled. They should be given the punishments they deserve and if they deserve disciplining in accordance with the law, they should be disciplined in accordance with the law. This style of rectification is not for the purpose of punishing a few people. The punishments are intended to educate. On the one hand, the individual is educated, and on the other hand and more importantly this example provides specific and vivid education for the vast number of cadres. It is the most effective means of achieving the result of educating all by punishing a few.

In carrying out systematic education of the cadres, at present we must mainly grasp well education in communist ideals and education in the aim of serving the people wholeheartedly. We must resolve well the basic problem whereby it is considered that public gain must also include private gain and that being a "public servant" of the people also involves being the "lord" of the people. Comrade Chen Yi said this well in one of his poems: "We should know and stress our ideals so that we can better serve the world. I must help and serve the people as there is great disgrace in self-seeking." This should be the ideological character of every communist and every revolutionary cadre. Communism requires that common prosperity be brought to the whole society, thus allowing all people happy and beautiful lives. Communists firmly believe that proletarians can only liberate themselves after all mankind has been liberated. The Constitution of the CPC clearly stipulates: "Members of the CPC must wholeheartedly serve the people and not hesitate to sacrifice their all. In order to realize communism they will fight till the end of their lives." This great ideal is closely linked with our work for the people. That ideology and those actions of considering only oneself when faced with a matter, that ideology and those actions of bartering away principles for human emotions, that ideology and those actions of using the power which the people have given one to seek private gain, that ideology and those actions which hold that as one is a cadre, one is an "official" and therefore must order people around and do as one pleases--all of these are extremely disgraceful. Such ideologies and actions are entirely incompatible with the great spirit of communism and the aim of wholeheartedly serving the people.

Comrade Mao Zedong once instructed us: "Wholeheartedly serving the people and never divorcing ourselves from the masses; proceeding from the interests of the people in everything and not from the interests of individuals or small groups; and uniformity in being responsible to the people and being responsible to the leading party organs--these are our starting point."

("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, pp 1095-1096) In carrying out systematic work style education for the cadres, we must particularly stress "uniformity in being responsible to the people and being responsible to the leading party organs." This is because some cadres, not only at the grass-roots level, but also some at the provincial, prefectoral, and county levels, often either consciously or unconsciously set responsibility to the upper levels in contradiction to responsibilities to the lower levels and set responsibilities to leading organs in contradiction to responsibilities to the masses. It often happens that in actual work, they are only responsible to the higher leading organs and are not responsible to the vast masses. Thus, we must teach our cadres to understand that in our nation, the basic interests of the party and government leading organs at various levels as well as the interests of the upper-level leading organs and the people are identical. The line, principles, and policies formulated by our party all take the interests of the people as their basic point of departure and final purpose. That these policies are endorsed by the greatest number of the masses is the highest indication that they accord with the interests of the greatest number of people. At the same time, we must educate our cadres to correctly understand and handle the relationship between the interests of the parts and the interests of the whole, long-term interests and immediate interests, and between party or state interests and the interests of the masses. When implementing upper-level instructions, it is necessary to proceed from the actual situation in that place at that time and engage in work which is full of creativity. As to anything which accords with the interests of the state and of the vast masses, if the upper levels have not yet spoken of it, one must dare to speak of it; if the upper levels have not thought of it, one must dare to think of it. If the instructions from the upper levels are difficult to implement in one's region, one must dare to make appropriate adaptations in accordance with the region's actual situation, and at the same time report these to the upper levels. That ideology and those actions in which one proceeds in everything from one's own promotion or demotion, just advises good things to the upper levels, acts only when "given the nod" by the upper levels and does not concern himself with the basic interests of the masses, or even brings harm to the masses' interests by trying to gain the recognition and favor of the upper levels; that ideology and those actions which, on the pretext of protecting the interests of the masses and collective interests, take advantage of loopholes in policy and harm state interests--all these are manifestations of selfish ideas and personal considerations. None of them are really fulfilling responsibilities to the upper levels, much less fulfilling responsibilities to the people. Thus, these work styles must be thoroughly corrected so that we can really cause our cadres to be uniform in their responsibilities to the upper-level leading organs and their responsibilities to the people.

In correcting the cadre's work style, we must strengthen education in the party's line of seeking truth from facts. Seeking truth from facts means proceeding from reality in everything. It is the basic principle of Marxism and a correct ideological line which our party has consistently advocated and will always support. Practice has shown that whenever seeking truth from facts is forgotten or deviated from, shortcomings have appeared in work style and problems have occurred in work. Many of the problems in cadres' work

styles at present are related to violation of the principle of seeking truth from facts. We must educate our cadres to handle matters and carry out work by proceeding from the objectively existing actual situation and to persist in seeking truth from facts, regardless of the conditions. Some comrades say: "Seeking truth from facts is easy to say, but difficult to accomplish." Of course, truly seeking truth from facts is not easy. This requires that we first place a high degree of importance on theoretical study, read deeply, be brave in practice, gradually establish a dialectical materialist world outlook and methodology, and study how to use Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought in guiding work. Second, we must be diligent in investigation and research, pay attention to listening to the words of the masses, and firmly follow the mass line. The masses are the major part of social practice and are the masters in the creation of world history. We stand in the first line of socialist modernization and we have the greatest understanding and the greatest say in the ever-changing objective situation. If we are to persist in seeking truth from facts, and if we are to understand the actual situation, we must implement the mass line and regularly go deep into practice and deep among the masses to carry out investigation and research. There is no other way. Third, we must have the courage to be selfless, dare to uphold truth, and really establish a scientific attitude of "not depending only on the upper levels and not depending only on books, but rather, depending only on facts." Only if our cadres really uphold the party's ideological line of seeking truth from facts, can we truly cure the many problems in their work styles.

Strengthening education in discipline and law and strengthening the cadres' concepts of discipline and law are important aspects of developing systematic education and correcting the cadres' work styles. Many of the problems in cadres' work styles are related to the cadres' lax discipline and shallow concepts of the law. Many facts have shown that at present not only do young people lack concepts of discipline and law, but also quite a number of cadres do not understand even what they must do if their actions are to remain within the limits of party discipline and within the limits of state law. Because they usually have not studied law and do not understand law, they are not even aware if their words and actions have exceeded the "standards" or violated the law. Or else, they believe "as long as we are doing things for the public, violating the law a little does not matter," as if they only need to "proceed from their work" and not concern themselves with the methods used. There are also some cadres who are seriously affected by ideas of privilege and feel that laws are for managing the people and that they themselves are not subject to the law. They mistakenly believe that "I manage the people. If the people do not listen to me, I have this means by which to punish them." It often occurs that they want to be awe-inspiring in front of the people and thus they punish at will, strike and curse the masses, and deliberately carry out vindictive reprisals or make false accusations against those cadres and those of the masses who hold opinions different from their own. None of these actions can be tolerated by party discipline or by state law. Through education in discipline and law, we must cause the cadres to understand what should be done and what should not be done. We must ensure that they understand that not only should they not do the things which ought not be done, but they must firmly oppose and restrain other people from

engaging in such actions. In this way, they will become models in observance of discipline and law.

Widespread rotational training of cadres is an important strategic method for raising the cadres' political and professional levels and also their work abilities, and also for correcting the cadres' work styles. Party organs must grasp this work as a regular task, persevere in it, and not allow it to be shaken by mistaken ideologies. We must also encourage cadres to overcome difficulties and work energetically in their study, so as to improve themselves. All party and state cadres have certain responsibilities in their posts. If they are not equipped with the necessary knowledge and abilities, then they will be unable to really support and push forward the cause of socialist construction. Thus, in systematically educating the cadres, we must pay attention to overcoming those muddled ideas which exist in some cadres, which pay little attention to study for reasons such as "the main leaders cannot leave their work, the backbone force cannot be released" and "as at work we are busy with our duties and after work busy with our family matters, there is no time in which to engage in professional study." The forms of training and the contents of education have various targets, diverse organizational forms, and varied study contents. They cannot be lumped together as one thing. At the same time, we must regularly examine the situation in cadres' study and link up cadre training with the assessment, promotion, and use of the cadres. Only by doing well in this will it be possible to achieve an obvious raising of cadres' quality. Cadres' work styles will also clearly improve.

Of course, if we really want to correct the problems in cadres' work styles, apart from carrying out systematic education as detailed above, we must also link up this education with the question of having leading cadres setting examples, with concern for and resolution of the cadres' difficulties and real problems, and with the establishment and perfection of cadre selection systems, examination systems, supervision systems, reward and penalty systems, rotation systems, power delegation systems, and so on. On the question of leading cadres setting an example, historical experiences have repeatedly proven that "shouting oneself hoarse is never as effective as setting an example." Problems in work style of grassroots-level cadres are often related to the work style of upper-level cadres. As the ancients said: "The king of Chu liked small waists, and all in the court starved themselves," and "The king of Wu liked good sword-fighters, and all the people of Wu bore scars." These refer to the same logic. If when leading from above, you differentiate between people in terms of their relationship with you, this can often give rise to factionalism at the lower levels. If the leadership above discards principles, this can often provide conditions for the lower levels to violate laws and act in an undisciplined way. If the upper levels are only willing to listen to good news and are not willing to listen to bad news, the lower levels will only report the good news and will not report the bad news. Wherever problems in cadres' work styles become a "trend," there you will find that the leading cadres inevitably have problems and are to blame. In recent times, after Comrade Hu Yaobang's instructions on the problem of some cadres' work styles were received, the leading cadres in some areas took the initiative to take the blame and make self-criticism for

the problems of some of their subordinate cadres. The lower-level cadres were deeply touched by this and individually stated that they would take real actions to quickly change their work styles and act respectfully as an "ox" for the masses. They wished to do this to repay the Central Committee for its being concerned about and cherishing them. We demand that cadres be honest in performing their duties and require that cadres serve the people wholeheartedly. We are also determined to correct the problems which exist in cadres' work styles. However, "while the upper levels have thousands of threads, the lower levels have only a single needle." Thus, the work of the grassroots-level cadres is very arduous. If we do not pay attention to this, observe the difficulties they have in their work, their study, and their lives, and do not resolve those problems which we are able to resolve through efforts, do not show any interest in the various problems they have, and do not pay attention to these problems, then this will result in it being more difficult to resolve the problems in cadres' work styles. In addition, it will not be easy to consolidate the results of the systematic education provided.

Engaging in systematic education and correcting the work styles of cadres is an important link in realizing a basic turn for the better in party style and social atmosphere. Once the problems in work styles are resolved well, there will be great hope for realizing a basic turn for the better in party style and social atmosphere. Thus, there will also be great hopes for reform and for socialist modernization! We believe that under the correct guidance of the party Central Committee, and with the common efforts of the 1.2 million Henan cadres at the provincial, prefectoral, and county levels, we will be able to rectify well the problems in the work styles of Henan cadres, and the day when China's brilliant splendor shines throughout Henan will certainly come.

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IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT THE DEVELOPMENT OF TERTIARY INDUSTRY BE ACCELERATED

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[Article by He Guilin [0149 2710 2651]]

[Text] The proposal of the party Central Committee on the formulation of the Seventh 5-Year Plan pointed out that we must speed the development of tertiary industry and raise its proportion in the overall national economy. This is in order to gradually change the situation where tertiary industry is not in harmony with primary and tertiary industry in terms of their respective proportions. This important decision correctly reflects an objective requirement of our nation's socialist modernization. This has pressing and real significance as well as far-reaching historical significance in the rational readjustment of our nation's economic structure.

The Gradual Increase of the Proportion of Tertiary Industry Is an Important Characteristic of a Modern Economy

The dividing of the economy into three types of industry, along with the concept of tertiary industry, commended in the 1930's and the 1940's. In 1935, the English economist A.G. Fisher, who was a lecturer at Otago University in New Zealand, in his book "The Conflict Between Progress and Security" divided man's economic activities, in accordance with the history of economic development, into three stages: The initial stage which has agriculture and animal-raising as its main part, the second stage which has industry as its main part, and the third stage which is characterized by development of service industries. In 1940, another English economist, Colin Clark, in his book "The Conditions of Economic Progress" used Fisher's formulation, made a rather detailed classification of the "three major economic industries," and divided agriculture, industry, and service industries into, respectively, primary, secondary, and tertiary industry. From this time on, this method of dividing the economy into three types of industry, has spread throughout Western countries and has gradually become a general international statistical method. Today, the World Bank annually releases statistical figures for the three types of industry and uses these to study the changes in the economic structure in various countries over different periods. International comparisons are thus made and this provides an important standard in assessing the economic development levels of different countries. Our nation had not in the past set up a statistical system based on the division of the economy

into three types of industry. Following the development of our nation's social productive forces and the gradual deepening of the economic structural reforms, there is a need to study and adopt some new accounting methods, so that we can reflect and study the scale, structure, and level of development of the various sectors of the social economy. This will be of benefit in the rational readjustment of the economic structure and will promote the coordination of economic and social development. In April of this year, the State Statistical Bureau, with the approval of the State Council, established our nation's tertiary industry statistical system, and clearly stipulated the classification range of the three types of industry and the internal levels of tertiary industry.

In assessing a country's scale of tertiary industry development, generally two indexes are looked at: One is the proportion of tertiary industry output value in national total output value, while the second is the proportion of those people who are engaged in tertiary industry as compared to the total figure of national employment. These two indexes are closely related and their development is basically similar. The development of tertiary industry is an inevitable result of ever-increasing specialization in division of work and the continued improvement of labor productivity in primary and secondary industry. Thus, the more economically developed a country, the greater the proportion of tertiary industry in the total amount of the three types of industry. The relevant departments have carried out logarithmic regressive calculations on the 1981 figures for 101 countries as issued by the World Bank and looked at the relationship between per capita GNP and the proportion of people employed in tertiary industry. It was found that: When per capita GNP was below \$300, the proportion of people employed in tertiary industry was under 17 percent; when per capita GNP was \$300 to \$500, the proportion was 17 percent to 23 percent; when per capita GNP was \$500 to \$1,000, the proportion of people employed by tertiary industry was 23 percent to 30 percent; for per capita GNP of \$1,000 to \$3,000, the proportions were 30 percent to 43 percent; when per capita GNP was \$3,000 to \$5,000, the percentage of people employed in tertiary industry was 43 percent to 50 percent, and in those cases where per capita GNP was above \$5,000, the percentage was 50 percent to 60 percent. When seen from different periods in the development of a single country, the results are the same. If we take Japan as an example, in 1950 the employment structure of the three types of industry were as follows: Primary industry had 48.3 percent of the work force, secondary industry had 21.9 percent, and tertiary industry had 29.8 percent. In 1983, the figure for primary industry had declined to 9.3 percent, that for secondary industry had increased to 34.1 percent, and that for tertiary industry had increased to 56.6 percent. If we look from the angle of different areas in the one country, in the economically developed major cities, the proportion of people employed in tertiary industry is higher than that nation's national average figure. For example, the 1981 average figure in Japan for the proportion of those employed in tertiary industry as compared to total national employment was 49 percent. However, in Tokyo, Kobe, Kyoto, Nagoya, and Osaka the figure exceeded 70 percent. In 1982, in England the national proportion of tertiary industry employment was 56 percent, but in London it read 76 percent. The overall figure for France in 1981 was 53 percent, but in Paris it reached 74 percent. In 1982, the

tertiary industry employment proportions for New York and Philadelphia were over 80 percent, far higher than the average U.S. national figure.

In brief, the development of tertiary industry is an inevitable trend following the continued raising of labor productivity of primary and secondary industry and is an important characteristic of economic modernization. The development of tertiary industry of course needs the development of primary and secondary industry as a base. However, as the development of tertiary industry can provide a wide range of services to primary and secondary industry and in the people's lives, it naturally can promote the coordinated development of the overall economy and of society. We only need to fully realize this internal relationship between the three types of industry to really place the development of tertiary industry in its appropriate place. Our nation is currently engaged in modernization. Following the further development of the reform of the urban and rural economic structures, under the conditions of a planned commodity economy, the social division of labor will inevitably develop further, the productivity of industry and agriculture will continually improve, and the people's incomes will gradually increase. This sort of situation presages that there must be a rapid development of our nation's tertiary industry.

#### Speeding the Development of Tertiary Industry Is a Strategic Task During the Period of the Seventh 5-Year Plan

In accord with the new situation of reform, opening up and enlivening the economy, in the last few years the development of our nation's tertiary industry has seen an unprecedented surge. According to statistics, in the 5 years from 1978 to 1983, the output value of tertiary industry grew 44 percent and the number of people employed by tertiary industry grew 37.5 percent. Retail commerce, food and beverage industry and service industry networks which are closely linked with the lives of the people, grew 3.5 times, 6.5 times, and 9.5 times respectively. The number of people employed in these businesses grew 1.6 times, 1.5 times, and 3 times respectively. At the same time, some tertiary industries which provided service for industry also sprang up. However, our present tertiary industry development still does not accord with the demands made by primary and secondary industry and the overall national economy, and the masses still feel inconvenienced in their lives. In order to change this situation, the party Central Committee has decided that in the Seventh 5-Year Plan, we must put the development of tertiary industry in an especially important position. This is an important strategic measure for promoting the rationalization of the nation's economic structure and the development of the commodity economy.

In the past, whenever we were formulating economic plans, we paid much attention to arranging the proportions between agriculture, light industry, and heavy industry and between accumulation and consumption. This is of course extremely important. However, the serious backwardness of tertiary industry and the difficulties it is bringing to production and livelihood tell us that even if the proportions between agriculture, light industry, and heavy industry and between accumulation and consumption are appropriate, if tertiary industry does not also appropriately develop, it will be difficult

to achieve coordinated economic and social development. Modern tertiary industry is a vast service system, which has many varied economic and social functions. The main advantages of greatly developing tertiary industry are manifested in the following aspects:

First, many tertiary industry businesses directly take on the function of providing service to primary and secondary industry. Greatly developing tertiary industry, so that it accords with the development of primary and secondary industry, can effectively promote the development of social division of labor, accord with the needs of the commodity economy, and raise the overall economic results of the society. The servicing of primary and secondary industry by tertiary industry is mainly manifested in the following three aspects: 1) Through developing and smoothing circulation and communications, it can provide preproduction and postproduction service to primary and secondary industry, and guarantee the smooth carrying out of simple reproduction and expanded reproduction in the society. Circulation is the link between production and consumption. Regardless of whether we speak of production consumption or livelihood consumption, regardless of whether it is "supplies" before production or "sales" after production, none of these can be divorced from circulation. Also, the development of circulation cannot be separated from commodities. Following the development of primary and secondary industry, the position and role of the circulation and communications sectors of tertiary industry will become increasingly obvious.

2) Through the development of science and technology and education, it provides modern, scientific results and skilled personnel for primary and secondary industry. The crux of the four modernizations is the modernization of science and technology. The development of modern productive forces, the raising of product quality, escalated replacement, the pushing forward of new materials, new equipment and new technology and the raising of economic results are daily becoming more dependent on the development of science and technology. Production competition is, in essence, competition between science and technology, and the competition between science and technology is, in the end, determined by the quality of skilled personnel. Thus, we are now carrying out economic reforms, scientific and technological reforms, and educational reforms together and earnestly placing the development of tertiary industry, science, technology, and education in a strategic position of importance. 3) Through the development of banking, insurance, information, communications, advertising, consultancy, legal notarization, and other businesses, under planned commodity economy conditions, tertiary industry can play, on the macroeconomic level, a forecasting and controlling role in overall national economic and social development. It can also, on the microeconomic level, supply various services to enterprises in their operations. In this way, it will play a role in circulating funds, spreading risks, guiding production, expanding sales, and protecting the legal rights of enterprises. Following the deepening of the reform of the economic structure, these services will become even more necessary.

Second, those tertiary industry businesses which have a close relationship with the lives of the masses, have the function of changing the people's consumption demands into real consumption. They will play an extremely important role in raising the quality of the people's lives and creating

lifestyles which are imbued with health, culture, and science. In the last few years, the incomes of the people in urban and rural areas have seen great increases. This has been accompanied by changes in consumption demand and in the consumption structure. With a large amount of money in the hands of the people, if we wish to turn consumption demand into real consumption, we must appropriately develop tertiary industry. On the one hand, we must satisfy basic consumption demands and, on the other hand, must satisfy the new demands brought about by the improvement of the quality of life. The former refers to satisfying the demands in terms of food, clothing, shelter, purchasing, transport, medical treatment, nursery care, and so on. The latter refers mainly to the demands which will arise in the rich and varied lives which will follow the socialization of household labor and an increased amount of spare time. Seen from the long term, as to what the consumption patterns will be at the end of this century after the lives of the nation's people reach a "comfortable" level, this is something which we need to arrange through formulating development plans for tertiary industry.

Third, the extensive development of tertiary industry is an important condition for fully bringing into play the many functions of a city. Following the reform of the economic structure and the development of the commodity economy, horizontal relationships between regions have been strengthened and this has objectively required that cities better bring into play their many functions. In a speech given at Wuhan, Premier Zhao Ziyang pointed out: "In the past, our understanding of the functions of cities has been rather limited. When cities were mentioned, we often only thought of them as industrial bases. This is an incomplete understanding. Cities are the products of the development of the commodity economy, and their functions are manifold. They are not only bases for industrial production. They should also be trade centers, financial centers, communication pivots, and information centers. Some cities are also science and education centers. A city's work and a city's various economic activities should not be restricted to serving that city. They should serve the overall economic areas which radiate from them." This is an extremely important strategic idea in guiding work in the cities. The four "centers" and one "pivot" referred to here are all aspects of tertiary industry. This clearly tells us that without the extensive development of tertiary industry, we certainly cannot talk about bringing into play the many functions of a city. The point of stress in the development of tertiary industry by large cities cannot be restricted to the service of only that city. Rather, at the same time as arranging well its own coordinated social and economic development, they should make greater contributions to the areas which radiate from them, and to the whole country.

Fourth, greatly developing tertiary industry is also of assistance in reforming the employment structure, to the making of arrangements for excess labor, to expanding employment avenues, and to promoting social order. Our nation has a large population. In the process of modernization, we must also consider the full employment of workers. This is an important, strategic question in the coordinated economic and social development of our nation. Following the deepening of the reform of the urban and rural economic structures, labor productivity will continually increase. Great amounts of excess labor will appear in both factories and villages, and it will be

necessary to seek new employment avenues. At the same time, every year there will be millions of people entering the work force for the first time. Most tertiary industry businesses are labor intensive, require little investment and see results quite quickly. These are the ideal avenues for absorbing large amounts of labor.

#### Several Questions Worthy of Study

Tertiary industry is now just developing in our nation, and many questions require study. Here I will only put forth my views on a few of the most important questions.

First, the question of the scale and speed of development of tertiary industry. The scale and speed of development of tertiary industry are restricted by both the objective requirements of the development of primary and secondary industry and by the level of development of primary and secondary industry. Seen from the angle of the history of the economic development of various countries, the development scale sequence of the three types of industry usually involves various different development stages. That is, from "primary, secondary, tertiary," it changes to "secondary, primary, tertiary" or "secondary, tertiary, primary." Then, it further develops to "tertiary, secondary, primary." In the 1950's, most of the economically developed Western countries were in the "secondary, tertiary, primary" stage. By the 1970's, they had entered the "tertiary, secondary, primary" stage. According to 1982 statistics, the proportions of the output value of the three types of industry in our nation were respectively 32 percent, 47 percent, and 21 percent, which shows that the sequence of the development scales of the three types of industry was "secondary, primary, tertiary." Although the proportion of tertiary industry in large cities was higher than the average national level, most tertiary industry was still in a development stage. It appears from our nation's current level of economic development that the sequence of the scales of the three types of industry is unlikely to change in the short term. However, the speed of development of our nation's tertiary industry should speedily increase and should exceed the average national level. Only in this way can we create more beneficial conditions to promote coordinated economic and social development.

Second, the question of the planning and the management levels of tertiary industry. Tertiary industry is a type of industry which has many businesses and a very wide range. Some of the businesses serve production while others provide livelihood service. Some are labor intensive, others are knowledge intensive. Some are run by society, others by enterprises. Some are state-run and others are run by collectives or individuals. Thus, how we are to carry out systematic planning in accordance with the different needs of society and the material conditions' capability of bearing the plans is a quite complicated question and must be paid serious attention. The basis for arranging the planning well is to earnestly do well in forecasting demand. On this base, we will still need to study and fix the pace of development and rational deployment as well as making clear the levels of management. Some matters will have to be handled by the province, city, or autonomous region in a unified way, while the majority of the matters can be handed down to the

district, neighborhood, or even resident's committees to handle. Those tertiary industry sectors which are related to livelihood service must pay attention to the different levels of income of the people and to their different needs, whether they be for high-grade, medium-grade, or low-grade service. Those services which are related to the basic needs of the many thousands of families, for example those services generally of benefit in the socialization of family tasks, must quickly be met by small-scale, diverse, decentralized operations which pay attention to results.

Third, the question of enterprise-managed tertiary industry. For a long period, because our nation's tertiary industry was backward, many enterprises in looking after their staff's problems operated different amounts of tertiary industry. The people vividly described this as "enterprises running society." This put many more burdens on the enterprise's director and the managers and was not of benefit to having these people put all their efforts into operations management. Following the development of the planned commodity economy, social division of labor has become more specialized. Seen from the long term, the socialization of enterprises' logistical work is inevitable. Of course, in the situation where the development of tertiary industry is unable to satisfy demand, changing this situation too quickly is not realistic. At present, an appropriate method is that, within the short term, enterprises will continue to cut down on their labor and will continue to run tertiary industries. At the same time as maintaining internal services, they should also open to the society. This is an important measure for enlivening the enterprises and for greatly developing urban tertiary industry. When the conditions are ripe, we can again consider separating enterprise-managed tertiary industry from the enterprises themselves. At that time, socialized tertiary industry will be able to provide enterprises with improved services.

Fourth, the question of exploiting the latent potential of existing tertiary industry. Greatly developing our nation's tertiary industry requires both the development of new service industries and the expansion of traditional service industries. On the one hand, the tertiary industry networks and the staff engaged in tertiary industry must be increased. On the other hand, the situation where existing tertiary industry service is low in efficiency and quality cannot be ignored. A real and pressing problem now facing us is how, through effective reforms, we are to fully bring into play the latent potential of existing tertiary industry. When we have arranged this well we will be able, without increasing staff or investment, to cause tertiary industry to take on a very different complexion.

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A GOOD START, USEFUL ENLIGHTENMENT--AN INVESTIGATION ON HOW SUZHOU CITY IS  
READJUSTING THE RURAL PRODUCTION STRUCTURE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 85 pp 23-26

[Article by Gu Xiulian [7357 4423 5571]; capitalized passages published in  
boldface]

[Text] Recently, I accompanied six or seven comrades from the provincial planning committee, the provincial bureau for economic relations and trade, and the general office of the provincial government to Suzhou city, where we carried out some investigations into the issue of readjusting the rural production structure. Our general impressions were as follows: A good start has already been made in the readjustment of the rural production structure; its orientation is correct, its development healthy, and its achievements marked. But in the process of the readjustment there have arisen certain new situations and problems which are in need of careful investigation and solution.

The readjustment of the rural production structure in Suzhou began after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, and has gradually gathered speed over the past 2 years. It may be seen in two stages: First, the breakdown of the previous monolithic structure with "grain as the key link" and pig breeding as the main form of animal husbandry, and a gradual transition to comprehensive growth of agriculture, sideline products, and industry; at present, we are seeing a further transition from the comprehensive development of agriculture, sideline products, and industry to the arrangement of production along the lines of "trade, industry, and agriculture," in that order. That is, agriculture and sideline products processing are being organized according to the needs to the export trade, with the aim of breaking into the international market. Specifically, readjustment is being carried out on three levels: On the first level, crop cultivation, on the basis of stabilizing grain production, rational readjustments are being made to the overall composition of crops, and the growing of salable, fine-quality cash crops is being expanded. On the second level, that of agriculture, the advantages of the region are being fully exploited, and silkworm breeding, fruit trees and flowers, and animal husbandry and aquatics are being actively developed. On the third level, that of the various other types of rural production, efforts are being made to develop mixed management in industry, commerce, construction, transportation, service, and so on.

This sort of readjustment is in line with the objective laws of economic development, represents the interests of the masses of peasants, and has therefore mobilized their initiative for production, and promoted profound changes in the rural economy. This may be seen in the following aspects:

1. RURAL PRODUCTION FORCES ARE CURRENTLY DEVELOPING RELATIVELY SWIFTLY. In the 22 years since the collectivization of agriculture in 1956 until 1978, there was an average annual growth in total agricultural output value over the whole city amounting to 6 percent, but in the 6 years since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, this figure has gone up to 15 percent. In 1978, the commodity rate for agriculture, sideline production, and industry over the whole city stood at 69 percent, but by 1984 it had reached 85 percent. In the first half of this year, crop-growing output value was up 8 percent on the same period in the previous year, while mixed management output value had increased by 52 percent, and in village industry, simultaneous increases in output value, sales, profits and tax had basically been achieved.
2. THE RURAL PRODUCTION AND PRODUCT STRUCTURES ARE GRADUALLY BEING RATIONALIZED. After 6 years of stable readjustment, there have been great changes in the structure of primary, secondary, and tertiary rural production. Currently, 40 percent of the labor force is engaged in industry, more than 20 percent is engaged in mixed management, commerce, construction, transportation, and service, and less than 40 percent is engaged in agriculture. Output value from secondary and tertiary production now exceeds that of primary production, and a large amount of the labor force has changed from being limited to working on the land to engaging in activities not connected with cultivation. This is an inevitable trend in the development of a commodity economy, a necessary path from poverty to riches for the rural areas, and a transition with strategic significance.
3. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE STATE HAVE INCREASED, AND THE MAJORITY OF THE PEASANTS ARE BEGINNING TO GET RICH. In the past 6 years, the amount of financial income provided by the whole city's rural areas to the state has reached more than 3 billion yuan, equivalent to the total figure provided in the 22 years before 1978. Last year, taxes from village enterprises amounted to 28 percent of the total financial income of the whole city, a 470 percent rise over 1978. The average per capita income of the peasants rose from 197 yuan in 1978 to 599.5 yuan, an increase of over 200 percent, and an average annual increase of over 70 yuan. But in the 22 years between collectivization and the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, average per capita income rose at an average annual rate of only 3.7 yuan, while during the 10 years of the "Cultural Revolution," average annual per capita income stagnated at around 100 yuan. At present, there is a general improvement in the levels of foods, clothing, possessions, and accommodation among the peasants. There has been a commensurate rise in the collective social welfare conditions of the peasants, and a great improvement has been seen in the spiritual and cultural lives of the peasants. In particular, the School of Commodity Economy has trained and cultivated a large number of peasant entrepreneurs and managers, a large number of advanced models in commodity production have emerged, and this has promoted a change

in the people's concepts, ways of thinking, and management policies. This represents valuable spiritual wealth; it is the result of breaking through feudal, stagnant economic models, and is a highly credible achievement of the rural economic reforms.

Naturally, some new contradictions have arisen in the readjustment of the rural production structure, and development is not yet balanced. The essence of the problem lies in the fact that people's concepts, leaders' methods and style of leadership, and policy measures, economic rules and regulations, the management system, and service measures have not yet caught up with or become appropriate to the transition from a self-sufficient and semi-self-sufficient economy to a commodity economy. Though this is to a certain extent unavoidable, we must do our best to shorten the process of catching up, carry out diligent investigation and study, adopt effective measures, and actively take the initiative to carry out adjustments.

Under the guidance of the overall policy of enlivening and opening up the economy, leaders at all levels of Suzhou city and its counties are exploiting the advantages of the area, and exploring ways to establish a rural production structure with its own characteristics. They are making efforts to organize production according to the "trade, industry, agriculture" order, and on that basis to produce more goods for export and earn more foreign currency. They are attempting to develop the forces of production to the greatest possible extent, bringing about national prosperity with the ultimate aim of making the people rich. Taking into consideration the capacity of the macroeconomy, they are carrying out the readjustment of the structure in small steps, not big steps. Their leading thinking and practical experience has given us fine inspiration.

#### 1. STRUCTURAL READJUSTMENT AIMED MAINLY AT FOREIGN COUNTRIES.

As an open coastal city, Suzhou is currently making the transition from an essentially inward-looking economy to an economy which is aimed both inward and outward, but which centers mainly on foreign trade. The product structure is also gradually turning from one which centers mainly on domestic sales to one which carries out both domestic and foreign sales, but which concentrates on the latter, and is expanding its capacity for exports and the earning of foreign exchange. In order to meet these demands, the cadres and masses of Suzhou city have developed "aggressive" trading methods. Training their sights on the needs of the domestic and foreign markets, they are organizing their products to attack the markets, and at the same time are importing the advanced technology and equipment they need to do so.

EXPAND PRODUCTION AND THROW ONE'S ENERGIES INTO THE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN MARKETS. Prior to 1978, Taichuang white garlic was grown only in small quantities on private plots. This year, however, the area devoted to white garlic growing has increased to 52,000 mu, an 11.7-fold increase in 8 years, and the garlic has become one of the country's 5 most famous brands. At the same time, processing, preservation, fast-freezing, and storage have been improved, forming a whole chain of "production-processing-trade," in line with the "trade, industry, agriculture" order. Annual exports of garlic

garlic seeds now amounts to 500,000 or 600,000 tons, representing 83 percent of total county exports, and earning over \$4 million, over half of the total foreign currency earned throughout the entire country.

MAINTAIN AND DEVELOP PRODUCTION OF "FAMOUS BRAND" AND "FINE QUALITY" PRODUCTS, INCREASING THEIR POPULARITY AND COMPETITIVENESS ON THE MARKET. Wu County's Bao'an cultivated flowers have a history of over 300 years. Superior varieties are cultivated with fine technology, and they have a certain prestige throughout the country. In order to maintain their superior status, the county has made great efforts to develop scientific research and the development of personnel, combining modern cultivation technology and methods with China's traditional cultivation methods, and raising plant production to a new level through technological progress.

HAVE THE COURAGE TO COMPETE AND WIN. Suzhou city has a large number of courageous, knowledgeable, intelligent, capable personnel working in production, management, and administration. The party secretary of Chefang township in Wu County is just such an intelligent, aggressive, and dedicated grassroots cadre. The tatami mats he has produced using straw grown from seeds from Japan are entirely appropriate for the Japanese market demand. He organized 10 middle school graduates to go to Nanjing's Agricultural Science Institute and Agricultural Institute to study. Careful study was carried out into the whole process of making the mats, from cultivating seedlings to harvesting, dyeing, and weaving. Overall quality was improved, and the products became much more competitive. This year, the township will earn over \$600,000, which is quite remarkable for a single township.

## 2. ESTABLISH BASE PRODUCTION AREAS, AND CREATE VANGUARD PRODUCTS.

The leaders of Suzhou city at all levels have made use of the conditions in different areas of the region to establish commodity production areas centering on such things as rice, rapeseed, aquatic products, aquatic cash crops, poultry eggs, fruit products, silk thread, rabbit fur textile products, miniature gardens, arts and crafts, and light industrial products. There are many advantages to establishing this sort of production base compared to simply having dispersed production. First, full use is made of natural and economic advantages, and comprehensive development and use of natural resources is possible. Second, the system is beneficial to the improvement of technology and quality. Third, it is of benefit to the provision of overall service. Fourth, it helps strengthen horizontal links, and develop cooperation between specialized areas. The establishment of production bases is highly important in the organization of intensive, specialized production, the formation of a certain quality and quality of "vanguard" products with which to enter the domestic and foreign markets. Products such as Wu County's silk thread, fruit from Dongting and Xishan, and mushrooms, water chestnuts, lotus roots, Taichuang white garlic and decorative borders, have become such famous-brand high-quality "vanguard" products well known at home and abroad. In establishing this sort of production base area, lessons must be learned from the tendencies to "rush headlong into mass action" and "dismiss one sort of production altogether," which arose during development of mixed management in the past, and the massive fluctuations in production and

tremendous losses they produced. We must definitely study macroeconomic strategy, take market demand and natural resources as our starting point, carry out scientific plans, and guarantee the healthy development of production bases.

In line with regionalized commodity production, a tendency has arisen in Suzhou's rural areas for an expansion in the scale of peasant management, and though this is not yet universal, a good start has been made. Four women peasants in Yuanhe village, Qinnan township, Changzhou, have set up four household farms, and using only 2.5 percent of the village's labor force, have contracted for 627 mu of the village's land, or 30 mu for each member of the work force, and have earned an average per capita annual income of over 1,000 yuan--20 percent higher than the average per capita income of the rest of the village's work force. This shows that if it reaches a certain scale, land management can produce relatively good economic results. The issue of scale-effectiveness is also involved in animal husbandry. A specialized animal husbandry household in the suburbs of Suzhou last year bred 260 pigs, earning an income of 15,000 yuan. This year they hired 3 helpers, bred 510 pigs, and predict an income amounting to 52,000 yuan, or a net income of 35.3 yuan per pig. This is much more efficient than small-scale pig breeding. Larger-scale management forms have appeared in Suzhou's rural areas, taking the form of household farms, large crop-growing households and combination agricultural-industrial operations. With regard to these new trends, we should carry out diligent study, summing up, propaganda and popularization. It must be realized that the present management form currently in use in developed regions of "everyone working, and every household planting the fields" is not beneficial to the development of agriculture toward commercialization, specialization, and modernization. Of course, the appropriate expansion in the scale of production and the development of a cooperative economy must be a question of active guidance and creating conditions, not of carrying out the expansion on the basis of one's own will to the neglect of the will of the masses.

### 3. SPECIALIZATION OF PRODUCTION, AND SYSTEMATIZATION OF SERVICE.

The strengthening of social services is essential to the development of commodity production. The more specialized and socialized production becomes, the more it relies on backup services. Over the past few years, commodity production has developed in Suzhou city, but services have not caught up, and consequently certain production projects have met with great losses. For example, the production of cultivated fresh-water pearls, rabbit fur, and edible fungus have been subject to massive fluctuations due to disjointed production, supply, and sales. The general wish of the peasants to engage in fowl breeding has not been possible to arrange due to a lack of fodder, etc. Therefore, the establishment of a preproduction, production, and postproduction service system has become a vital condition for the development of commodity production. Under these conditions, service companies in every township and village have quickly developed, opening up all sorts of specialized and comprehensive services for producers, and channelling dispersed household production management into one big overall supply and demand system. This in turn has promoted the development of commodity

production. Currently, production service is beginning to filter down into every link of the production chain. The service system is developing in every sphere, from the provision of information, funds, seedlings, materials, and technology to the implementation of processing, storage, transportation, and sales processes. The significance of this systematization of service lies in its promotion of the specialization and modernization of production.

In this new situation, the question of how industry is to serve agriculture is an important one. Industry departments must study how to equip, transform, and speed the process of modernization of agriculture.

Rural technology and equipment are generally backward at present; existing equipment is outdated, has poor capability, and high consumption, and there is an urgent need for replacement of this old machinery with new machinery which saves work and costs, is easy to operate, has simple processes, and is highly efficient. For example, in animal husbandry and fishery, there is a need for specialized equipment; in the agricultural sideline products processing industry, there is an urgent need for an increase and improvement in basic equipment for cold storage, preservation, processing, packaging, and transportation. Another extremely pressing task is the introduction, cultivation, and popularization of fine-quality varieties and new varieties. At present, these two tasks have not yet become part of the daily work of leaders at all levels, and certain problems exist in the system and our policies. Energies must be concentrated on examination and research, and the drawing up of policies. We must change the old concepts of industry supporting agriculture, we must do things according to the law of value, and make the industry which supports agriculture more economically efficient, such that it provides agriculture with better quality, more appropriate and more economic machine products.

#### 4. MAKE GREAT EFFORTS AT READJUSTMENT, AND ENSURE THE STABLE GROWTH OF AGRICULTURE.

Agriculture is the basis of the national economy, and the reason why areas such as Suzhou are able to develop relatively fast is primarily due to the benefit they gain from agriculture. Over the past few years, with the development of village enterprises, and the readjustment of the rural production structure, the proportion of agricultural output value in the whole of rural production output value has fallen somewhat, while the main source of income for peasants has changed gradually from agricultural to nonagricultural production. Does this mean that the position of agriculture as the basis has weakened? Does the cut in this year's production of summer grain mean that the readjustment of the rural production structure has gone too far? The opinion of the city and county cadres on these questions is that the readjustment of the rural production structure has only just begun, and the development of the commodity economy is highly incomplete; it has by no means gone too far already. At present, readjustment of many production spheres has not yet reached a rational level. The cadres have put forward certain data: Of 21 major cash crops, less than half have reached the highest output levels of the past. Growing areas and output of such crops as hemp, oilseed, medicinal herbs, straw for matting, silkworms, and fruit

are not yet back up to historical levels. Of course, this is not to imply that the highest levels of production in the past were rational, and the extent of readjustment should be determined by looking at today's conditions. City and county cadres also consider that the reasons for this year's reduction in summer grain production are manifold, and the reduction in the amount of land used for growing the grain is only one of them. But this very reduction in land area, expansion of cash crops, development of mixed management and continued development of village industries is the reason for the relatively large increase in peasant incomes during the first half of the year, and initial statistics show that average annual per capita income will increase by 80 yuan. Again, looking at the overall situation, agriculture has provided foreign trade with a large number of export sideline products, has provided industry with sufficient raw materials, labor power, and sales markets, has provided urban residents with rich supplies of nonstaple foods, and so on. Of course, the question of to what extent the readjustment of the rural production structure should be taken must be decided on the basis of present realities, and carried out according to our actual capabilities; that is to say, with the prerequisite of maintaining the stable growth of grain production, and on the basis of market demand and natural conditions, all sorts of cash crops should be actively produced, and the development of forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production, and fishery speeded up. To this end, we must carry out proper studies, and act in the service of national macroeconomic goals, take into consideration the fact that this is an open economic region, and establish an economic structure based on "trade, industry and agriculture," expanding exports and foreign currency earnings and speeding up the modernization of the economy.

In the process of our investigations, we also came to realize that there are a small number of people in the rural areas who look down on agriculture. This is one of the reasons behind the fact that our prices are not rational, and that comparative incomes from agriculture and other sectors, and from grain and other cash crop production are also irrational. Appropriate policy adjustments must be made. Moreover, in some areas, when developing village enterprises or other spheres, arable land is not sufficiently cherished, and too much of it is occupied for other uses. Some village enterprises are busily opening stalls, carrying out duplicate construction, and building blindly. These problems must be given serious attention, not ignored. We must follow the relevant state regulations, strengthen political and ideological education, use economic and legal measures, and adopt the necessary administrative measures to strengthen control and regulation.

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## HOW SHOULD WE LOOK AT FREEDOM?

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[Article by Sima Zhe [0674 7456 0772]]

[Text] In his speech at the National Conference of Party Delegates, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said it goes without saying that we should uphold the freedoms guaranteed by our Constitution and the laws of the state. In our propaganda work, we must firmly oppose bourgeois liberalization, namely, publicity that favors taking the capitalist road. This tells us that we must correctly understand and deal with the question of freedom. During China's current opening up and reform, a correct view and attitude toward freedom are especially important.

### I

There are still some people in China who envy and pursue bourgeois freedom. In their eyes, socialism does not provide as much freedom as capitalism, and the Western capitalist world as a marvelous "free world." Is this really true? No. In fact, there is a misunderstanding of "freedom" in such an illusory concept. It is true that in many ways people's speech and action are subject to the restriction of objective inevitability, whether people are conscious of it or not. Therefore, under no circumstances should we talk about freedom without considering inevitability in the relationship between people and the external objective world. Freedom is the knowledge of inevitability in the transformation of the objective world. This is a Marxist, scientific generalization of freedom. Only this scientific generalization can genuinely reveal the true nature of freedom. It should be the theoretical basis and prerequisite for our understanding of freedom. History has shown that the more fully and profoundly people understand inevitability, the more complete and perfect the conditions and means for transforming the objective world, and thus the greater the subjective initiative. On the other hand, if people fail to understand and violate the inevitability of things, they will become passive and have no freedom at all. Therefore, acting in accordance with objective inevitability is still a principle to be observed in achieving all freedoms in a socialist society, including the relationship between men and nature and between men and society. Even the freedoms of those classes or social groups in power are subject to the restrictions of various subjective and objective

conditions. Take for example the exploiting classes in power. Despite the fact that all social and political systems are established to ensure freedom of exploitation, the resistance and struggle of the exploited and the oppressed often leave them in a state of unrest, and they cannot escape the fate of being overthrown. For thousands of years the struggle of the working people to eliminate the rule, exploitation, oppression and slavery of the exploited classes has been the chief element in the fight for freedom. This, precisely, has been the motive force in pushing ahead the progress of history. The establishment of the socialist system was precisely in conformity with the inevitability of historical development. This is a most fundamental point. No matter what changes capitalist society has undergone, it will always exploit, oppress, and enslave. Inevitably, it will be ignored by historical developments.

Some of our comrades regard the capitalist world as a free world. This is because their criteria for weighing freedom are based on such concepts as "regarding man as human being," and "even the people can criticize the president." True, compared with the rulers of slave and feudal societies, the capitalists have made some progress. The former regarded working people as talking instruments, or as their appendixes, while the latter in fact viewed working people as "free men." It cannot be denied that this is progress, and an historic achievement for the capitalists. However, recalling that "free men" really means selling their "labor" freely and being unable to eliminate the "freedom" to exploit, can we say that they are enjoying genuine freedom?! True, they can criticize the president, but are they bold enough to openly criticize their boss? No. If they do, they will face the danger of being sacked and losing their means of subsistence. In a society where money and property are everything, freedom is empty talk without money and property. The bourgeois constitution has stipulated that every citizen has the right to elect and be elected, but we see that in the so-called free "election" it costs several hundred thousand dollars to get elected to congress and several million dollars to get elected president. Where is there any right for the proletariat and the working people to govern the state! Under conditions where nearly all big newspapers, publishing houses, and radio stations are dominated by the capitalists, the freedoms of speech, press, and publication are of little significance to the proletariat and the working people. Freedom of capitalism is, in essence, freedom for the minority to exploit the majority. It is special privileges for the capitalists. This is an undeniable fact.

In contrast, social classes and all forms of exploitation and oppression are to be eliminated in socialist society in order to win freedom for the proletariat and the working people. Through revolution, government by the landlords and capitalists was overthrown. The landlords and capitalists were eliminated in China. Working people who had been oppressed and exploited for thousands of years became masters of their country and their society. They are building socialism with their own wisdom and strength. This is the socialist freedom which we have genuinely and universally realized. Whether in cities or rural areas, whether engaged in mental or physical labor, and whether working in enterprises owned by all the people, in the collective economy, or in the private economy supplementing socialist economy, they are

all working as masters of the country for society and themselves. They have differences in their social division of labor, but not in class distinction. So they may become well-to-do faster than others, and there are differences in the degree of their prosperity. But their common objective is to share the prosperity, not contribute to polarization. In China all power belongs to the people. The people enjoy the rights of governing the state and managing economic, cultural, and other social undertakings in a down-to-earth manner. The proletariat and the working people are enjoying their freedom as masters of a country with a socialist society. This is the historical inevitability which is discussed scientifically in Marxist doctrine. Such freedom is genuine freedom, and it is inevitable. Here lies the basic difference between socialist freedom and capitalist freedom. To discuss and compare types of freedom while ignoring this prerequisite will inevitably lead one astray.

There is no need to deny that we have made mistakes in the course of realizing socialist freedom. Freedoms have been suppressed and sabotaged over the past decades. Such cases occurred because socialism was violated. China had a feudal society which lasted for several thousand years. It became a semi-colonial and semifeudal society only in recent history. The pernicious influence of feudal autocracy has been deeply ingrained in our society since China lacks a concept and tradition of democracy. In building socialism, we have developed a highly centralized political and economic administration, but it has failed to bring into full play the enthusiasm and initiative of the masses. However, the most important factor in all this has been the "leftist" errors in our ideology. For a long time we implemented the political line of "taking class struggle as the key." Class struggle was overstressed even after the exploiting classes had been eliminated. We continued to use class struggle in dealing with all kinds of contradictions and problems in our socialist society. This resulted in 10 years of internal disorder, seriously harming the people's rights and socialist freedom. We should never forget this profound historic lesson. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee we have adopted and are continuing to adopt appropriate measures to change such an abnormal state by bringing order out of chaos; freedom, in conformity with socialism, is being restored and developed. This is a fact universally witnessed. The practice of reforming our political and economic structures has proved that an invigorated socialist construction is inseparable from a fully developed socialist freedom. Every CPC member and upright citizen should prize the socialist freedom which has been restored and developed since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee.

Of course, we should recognize that developing socialist freedom and protecting the people's rights of freedom under the socialist system are still important and arduous tasks. The standard of China's productive force is still low and the material wealth still not affluent. Consequently, many of the people's material and cultural needs are not being satisfied. This also means that, in reality freedom in China is subject to the restriction of material conditions in many respects. Our efforts to modernize are precisely aimed at creating conditions for developing, perfecting, and completing socialist freedom. At the same time, we must further develop,

perfect, and complete socialist democracy and the socialist legal system in order to ensure in a down-to-earth way the status of the people as masters of the country and their various democratic rights and freedoms under the law and the political system. We must clearly understand that developing socialist freedom does not mean in any way going in for bourgeois liberalization. In other words, it is imperative that we adhere to the four basic principles. Any speech or conduct which goes against the four basic principles is incompatible with socialist freedom. Deviating from the four basic principles and going in for bourgeois liberalism means taking the capitalist road, and this will only result in the loss of the freedoms which the working people have won. Historical experience tells us that only by simultaneously opposing "leftist" trends which suppress and injure socialist freedom and "rightist" trends which lead socialist freedom to bourgeois liberalization, while at the same time striving to overcome all kinds of phenomena aimed at violating the law and discipline and sabotaging the socialist system, will it be possible to guide and develop socialist freedom.

## II

How should we look at personal freedom under the socialist system? Historically, some people have wandered between two absolute concepts regarding this question. They would turn socialism and personal freedom against each other, making no distinction between personal freedom and individualism, as if the mere mention of personal freedom meant it belonged to capitalism, which has nothing to do with socialism. Or they would advocate copying the "freedom of individuality" and the "emancipation of individuality" of Western capitalist society, claiming that without these there can be no personal freedom to speak of. Both of these tendencies are harmful. At present, the latter extreme view is quite influential among some people, especially youth. But it is not compatible with the building of the material and spiritual civilizations. To correctly understand and master the question of socialist freedom, it is essential that we solve this question.

Socialism does not deny personal freedom. On the contrary, Marxists have always regarded "free development of each individual" as the basic requirement of the future society. Going back to the period of the new democratic revolution, when some people in China doubted that the Chinese communists approved of individuality, Mao Zedong explained the position of the party. He said: "It is necessary to guarantee that the people can freely develop their individuality within the framework of society." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 1007) In "How To Be a Good Communist," Liu Shaoqi refuted the proposal to "eliminate the individuality of communist members." He especially stressed the idea "that the party would use every means to help members develop their individual inclinations and aptitudes in conformity with its interests." ("Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi," Vol 1, p 135) It is obvious that the concept of socialism being diametrically opposed to personal freedom has nothing in common with Marxism. But, does that mean that in acknowledging the need to develop personal freedom under socialist conditions, we can go in for the "freedom of individuality" and the "emancipation of individuality" of capitalist society? No, personal freedom is nothing abstract. It is concrete. There are differences in principle between the

proletariat and the capitalists regarding the concept of personal freedom. The former is based on public ownership and is guided by historical materialism and collectivism; the latter is based on private ownership and is guided by historical idealism and egoism. We should not set personal freedom against socialist freedom. Nor should we confuse socialist freedom with the "personal freedom" advocated by the capitalists.

Since the European "Renaissance," many bourgeois thinkers have believed that personal freedom is an inherent human condition, that man is born free and should be free of all restrictions, that he can do whatever he wants. Today, in particular, some Western bourgeois thinkers have come up with such types of human instinct and desire as "the instinct to possess," "the instinct of egosim," "the desire to fight," "the desire to kill," and "sexual drive being the origin of all human behavior." These are used to explain human nature and individual personality. The practice of explaining individual personality and personal freedom from a "natural" (physiological or biological) angle is purely historical idealism. It is also an unsolvable contradiction of the capitalist system, and an expression of its decadence.

Marxism believes that one should never talk about personal freedom deviating from certain social historical conditions. This is because human nature is the totality of social relations, and the personality of every individual is determined by his social nature. True, research in modern biology and psychology has shown that man's environment plays a certain role in the formation of individual personality. But to exaggerate that role, regarding it as the sole factor in deciding individual personality, is to deny scientific evidence. As individual personality depends mainly on social factors, personal freedom must be connected with certain social historical conditions. Therefore, we cannot define personal freedom for every individual based on his desires and instincts. Instead, we should explore objectively the relationship between the individual and society.

Capitalists and the proletariat are diametrically opposed in their views of the relationship between an individual and the collective. Bourgeois thinkers once proclaimed: "Collective freedom is nonexistent. Freedom belongs to the individual; otherwise, it does not exist." They put forth the idea that "man is a wolf to another man." This emphasized the conflict between the individual and others, and between the individual and society in a capitalist society. It stressed that the majority in a capitalist society cannot protect their own personal freedoms. In our times, some Western capitalist thinkers such as Sartre stressed that "the other man is hell." To him, "every individual is absolutely free only when he is opposing others." Here, the existence and development of personal freedom means precisely the trampling and destruction of other people's freedom. Such "war" waged for personal freedom driven by egoism is a very truthful portrayal of human relations in a capitalist society based on private ownership. Some bourgeois thinkers believe it is precisely because everyone wants to have his freedom that he should consider the freedom of others. Superficially, such a concept of freedom means to be "fair," and not absolutely egoistical. However, precisely because such a concept of freedom regards one's own freedom as a prerequisite for discussion, once personal freedom is threatened, the freedom

of others will not be taken care of. Thus, this notion has never gone beyond the boundary of bourgeois egoism.

Marxism resolutely discards such concepts of historical idealism and egoism, stressing that the antagonism between individual and collective is not a result of human nature, but rather the development of private ownership. Capitalist society has made its contradictions more acute. Marx pointed out that in capitalist society, the right of freedom is one of selfishness. "With such freedom, no one regards other people as the realization of, but a restriction to his own freedom." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 438) When mankind enters into socialist and communist societies, the antagonism between personal freedom and the collective will gradually disappear as society develops. Taking its place will be a basic identification of personal and collective interests. The workers will combine themselves into a genuine collective, through which every individual will fully and freely develop himself. Marx and Engels pointed out: "The individual will acquire the means for all-round development of his talent only in the collective; in other words, personal freedom exists only in the collective." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol 3, p 84) This is a Marxist principle of collectivism on the development of personal freedom. In socialist society, if one pursues personal freedom after the pattern of capitalist society, pursuing it with an antagonism between "self" and the collective, pursuing "self-centered" freedom, and harming the public interests of the collective or even the entire society for the fulfillment of "self," he will no doubt run into traps and be foiled everywhere. This, we think, is perhaps the basic flaw in the thinking of some people who have found "little freedom" in China. The development of personal freedom under socialist conditions needs collective ideas, a broad vision of communist ideals, and a spirit of serving the people. It is necessary to fulfill personal freedom in the common cause of socialism and amidst socialist relations between man and man and between man and society, namely, the collective. Only then will there be a vast world for the development of personal freedom.

We need to point out that some people believe Marxism advocates that personal freedom comes before the collective and society on the ground that "free development of each individual is a condition for the free development of all people." This is a misunderstanding. In the statement quoted, Marx and Engels were explaining personal freedom under the communist system and personal freedom in communist labor collectives. Such freedom refers to the all-round development of the individual, and each individual will be developed in an all-round way in communist labor collectives. Without exception, this will inevitably lead to the all-round development of everyone in the labor collectives. In a communist society, this means the development of personal freedom and the collective (from the small combining of workers to the entire society) are identical. At the same time, Marx and Engels emphatically pointed out: "A person's development depends on the development of all other people with whom he had direct or indirect ties." (Ibid., p 515) Thus we can see, placing personal freedom above the collective and society is by no means a Marxist view; nor can it provide grounds for egoism.

The individual and the collective are a unity of opposites; so are freedom and discipline. To develop personal freedom, it is necessary to draw up and guarantee respective laws, discipline, and other social norms. This has become an accepted norm in civilized societies. "Civilization has taught people to realize that only when public order, public security, and public interests are protected will it be possible to maintain their own interests." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 609) Even many bourgeois thinkers acknowledge this norm of civilization, admitting that law and discipline are prerequisites of freedom even when stressing that personal freedom is a "natural right." This is because everyone must live in society. Even the capitalist society is a form of human society, and bourgeois thinkers can in no way prove that the individual can stay removed from that society. Spinoza said: "One who is guided by reason and observes public law and discipline while living in a country will be freer than obeying only himself, living in solitude." Everyone who lives in our socialist country has his personal freedom; however, he must accept restrictions imposed by law and discipline. Apart from observing party discipline, party members must become models in observing the law and discipline of the state. Is the observance of law and discipline a form of restriction? We cannot answer that question in general. In our society, discipline is not always a restriction to all people, rather only to those who are consciously or unconsciously harming the socialist cause. The restriction is aimed at preventing him from hurting others and himself. We need discipline in building socialist modernization. Our tasks will not be carried out smoothly and there will be no social stability if people act freely and arbitrarily. Therefore, we "must strictly safeguard party discipline and greatly strengthen our sense of discipline." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 235)

People in our society develop freely, but at the same time they must observe discipline. These two aspects are unified, but opposite. If one fails to observe discipline, he cannot genuinely become a free man.

### III

Freedom of speech, freedom of literary creation, freedom of academic studies, and freedom of publication are often regarded as means of expressing ideas and opinions. Consequently, they are often promoted as so-called "ideological freedoms" or "spiritual freedoms." These often concern people as they are regarded as the criterion of freedom. To some people, such freedoms should not be subject to any restrictions or limitations. Does not the Constitution explicitly state that citizens have freedom of speech and publication? Why can we not speak, write, and publish our works freely? If their views, speeches, publications, or ideologies are criticized, and if some restrictions are imposed on their works, they would say that their ideological freedom is being deprived. These comrades fail to understand the need to adhere to the four cardinal principles, to refrain from spiritual pollution, and to oppose bourgeois liberalism as advocated by our party. They hold that all this impedes ideological freedom. Such a view is quite erroneous.

Freedom of speech, literature and art creation, academic studies, and publication is one of the important aspects of socialist freedom. "Let a hundred flowers blossom; let a hundred schools of thought contend" is an important principle of our party in developing socialist culture and science. More favorable conditions have been created for implementing the "two hundreds" policy, particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee when past "leftist" errors were resolutely negated. Nonetheless, many problems still exist in this respect. Some localities still lack the right conditions for realizing these freedoms. Some phenomena as bureaucratism, patriarchal style, "one person alone has the say," suppression of democracy, and handling things roughly and oversimplifying are not uncommon. Therefore, the party and state should continue creating good conditions, environment, and atmosphere for the realization of these freedoms. Great effort must also be exerted to thoroughly solve problems in this respect. This is one side of the question.

The other side of the question is that like other freedoms, freedom of speech, literature and art creation, academic studies, and publication should neither deviate from, nor disregard responsibilities to, our society. While granting these rights of freedom, the state has also stipulated in the Constitution that in exercising these rights, citizens should not harm the interests of the state, the society, and the collective, or the legal freedoms and rights of other citizens. These two aspects of freedom are inseparable from one another. This means that we cannot regard what we say, write, and publish as entirely our own personal affair. Circulation of a speech or one's publication throughout society will inevitably exert some kind of influence on that society. Given our modern mass media, the ideological influence of all kinds of works of literature and art and articles in the press can be extensive. Thus, the various kinds of spiritual products must be considered in terms of their social results. Every producer of spiritual products must consider his social responsibility. Of course the ideological content of various spiritual products is very complicated, involving many questions of knowledge in the course of study, exploration, and creation and the question of committing mistakes in the course of approaching truth. This should not be oversimplified or judged arbitrarily. We should also refrain from roughly suppressing, investigating, and blaming the writer concerned. However, the social results of some literary works and publications are too easily seen. For example, those tabloids, books, and journals which include pornography, violence, and vulgarity and which corrupt the minds of people, teenagers in particular, are not difficult to judge. Like fake medicine, they injure the people's health. An editor who published a vulgar tabloid would not take the tabloid he edited home. Asked why, he replied: Lest my child should follow the bad example. So he knew such material was harmful. He would not harm his own child, but he was not the least concerned about others' children. Such so-called freedom, which is irresponsible toward society, is by no means a socialist freedom. Our society is one in which the people are masters of their country. Therefore, the producer of each spiritual product must first think of the people, serving the people, and socialism when exercising his own rights of freedom. This is a point we must stress when we talk about freedom of creation, publication, and ideology. So long as we attach genuine attention to this question and

truly understand the social responsibility that we bear, we will see that the four cardinal principles are the guarantee for all kinds of freedom, including "ideological freedom" under the socialist system. The four cardinal principles proposed by the CPC contain the means to correct and fight against the erroneous views and practices of the past, to guard and fight against spiritual pollution, and to fight against and eliminate bourgeois liberalization. These two aspects of freedom are unified on the basis of the four cardinal principles, but they do not oppose each other. As for bourgeois freedoms, we should acknowledge that progress was achieved during the European "Renaissance," and even during the period of the European bourgeois revolution. But today, in China, on this piece of land where there has been established a socialist country of the people's democratic dictatorship led by the proletariat with the worker-peasant alliance as its core, whoever advocates bourgeois liberalization is lagging behind the times.

This is not too difficult an issue to understand, yet some comrades are trying to prove in theory the existence of an unrestrained "ideological freedom." Quoting Marx' early speeches on "spiritual freedom" and his statement that "ideology cannot become the object of the law," they try to prove that "ideology should enjoy absolute freedom."

But is this a Marxist view of ideological freedom?

As we know, ideological freedom has two implications, one in terms of social political rights, the other in terms of the theory of knowledge. As mentioned above, there is no such thing as a kind of social political right, an "absolute ideological freedom" which has no social responsibilities or restrictions. Marx' original explanation of the so-called "ideology cannot become the object of the law" is as follows: "Regarding the law, I do not exist at all except for my behavior; I am fundamentally not an object of the law." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, pp 16-17) This was a statement in "Comments on the Latest Prussian Censorship Instruction" written in early 1842. Here, Marx stressed that the law could punish him for "what I have done," but not "what I think," because an idea is man's "most concealed nature," namely man's "individuality," which should not be punished by the law. (Ibid., p 17) We will not go into details except to say that when Marx said that, he was still under the influence of Hegel's idealism. What is important is that the freedom of ideology and publication which Marx stressed was aimed at the feudal and autocratic system and the thinkers representing the German feudal reactionary forces of his times. It was correct for him to point out that ideology should not become the object of the law, and that only one's behavior can be punished by the law. However, in his words, we can in no way arrive at the conclusion that "ideology should enjoy absolute freedom." This is because there is no logical relationship between the two. Moreover, even when Marx fought against autocratic German politics and demanded ideological freedom, he did not believe that "ideology should enjoy absolute freedom." We can thus see that the argument that "ideology should enjoy absolute freedom" is a deviation from the essence of what Marx said originally. It changes the original meaning of his statement. Such an interpretation of Marx should not be taken seriously.

As for the theory of knowledge, it is not applicable in trying to prove that ideology should be unfettered by restrictions and enjoy absolute freedom, based on Marx' early discussion on "spiritual freedom." It is true that Marx did deal with "spiritual freedom" frequently in his early years. However, from the time of his "doctorate thesis," and the several articles published when he worked at the RHEINISCHE ZEITUNG, to the time he worked on "The Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Law," he was still under the influence of historical idealism. Therefore, when he discussed freedom starting from reason, he regarded freedom as the nature of spirit, the nature of man, and the gift of nature springing from reason. Such a concept of freedom was never raised to a scientific level. It was not until Marx and Engels worked together on "The German Ideology" that they made a scientific explanation of social history and established the materialist concept of history. It was then that Marx stopped explaining freedom in terms of ideology and human nature. He turned to material production conditions, man's social relations (mainly production relations) and class relations. Concerning freedom, Marx and Engels made the following explicit observation: "Up to now freedom has been defined by philosophers in two ways. On the one hand, as power, as domination over the circumstances and conditions in which an individual lives--by all materialists; on the other hand, as self-determination, riddance of the real world, as merely imaginary freedom of the spirit. This definition was given by all idealists, especially the German idealists." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 341) This clearly shows that Marx' views of ideological freedom had changed.

In a certain sense, human ideology can be said to know no limits to freedom. "One is sailing the sea, but his thoughts are carried back to the tall tower on the gate leading to the palace," "meditating in stillness, one's thought spans a thousand years," and "one's facial expression changes, with one's mind ten thousand li away." Ideas seem to surpass the limitation of time and space. There is a wide world for free imagination. However, all ideas, even the boldest, always originate in the objective world. They are an expression or "reflection" of the external objective world, whether it is direct and simple reflection or indirect and complicated. Ideas are by no means rootless and innate in the mind, nor do they originate from the subjective world. Besides, so long as man's ideas are expressed, turned into action, and in contact with reality, they will inevitably be tested by practice to see if they conform to reality. If they do, and if they are used to guide practice and to achieve targets, then, one has ideological freedom. If they do not, they are simply wild flights of fancy. Should such a fancy be used to guide practice, one would surely be punished under the laws which govern the objective world where there is little ideological freedom to speak of. Therefore, general and abstract ideological freedom does not exist; only concrete ideological freedom exists. To pursue absolute ideological freedom is to pursue idle thoughts. The flower of ideological freedom will bloom only when it is deeply planted in the soil of reality. It is not enough for those engaged in spiritual work to have suitable environment and conditions for free labor. They must understand the laws governing social development and direct their efforts to know and transform the world by extending the realm of inevitability to the realm of freedom.

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WHITE-HAIRED OLD MEN ON THE DECEMBER 9TH MOVEMENT

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 85 pp 34-37

[Article by Sun Sibai [1327 1835 4101]]

[Text] Foreword: Over the past half year, I, sometimes together with my fellow students, have had chats with several university students. They know very well our ideas and life when we studied at the university, so our conversations were focused on the December 9th Movement. Subsequently, I felt that our chats were not all "meaningless." So, I have collected the essential parts and published them so as to enable more young people to understand the course of our growth.

The young students who took part in the December 9th Movement for national salvation 50 years ago and who are still alive today have all become white-haired old men listed in the ranks of "veteran comrades." However, whenever they recall the past, they feel as if they were young and back in the 1930's--distributing leaflets and wrestling for hydrants. We said: "At that time, students felt as if state affairs were placed on their shoulders. It seemed that they had the lofty spirit of 'shouldering everything under the sun.'" Hearing this, our young friends laughed and said: "We don't understand why you still look like 'old youths,' fired with the same vigor. Was your life during your college days interesting? Isn't it regrettable not to be able to live in that era? What will we recall when we are old?" Their remarks seemed to indicate two points: One is that they long for an extraordinary life and think that life would be "interesting" only when one braved wind and rain in the era in which we lived. The other is that they feel that they do not have the "vigor" we had when we were young.

Young people are full of vigor and vitality. Apart from attending classes, carrying out experiments, and reading books in libraries, they should also take part in other activities to temper themselves. While at university, it was not that we did not want to study hard but that the feeling of national crisis forced us to leave the universities and take to the streets. Staging demonstrations in the streets might cause arrests, imprisonment, and death sentences at any moment; it was by no means "interesting." We would have been only too glad if we could have a peaceful environment to study as we have today. As for the "vigor" we had, it gradually resulted from "knowledge, ideals, belief, practice, and training."

A student said: "I am eager to know how you began to have faith in Marxism." Another student put it more bluntly: "What made you think of following the CPC?" At first, we felt that they were naive, and what they had asked was beyond expectation. But after further consideration, we deemed it necessary for us "white-haired old men" to answer them patiently, as they had asked the questions very frankly. We had no choice but to start from the very beginning.

Take myself as an example. When I first enrolled in a famous university, I made up my mind to study hard. I did not have "lofty ideals" but just wanted to be a teacher to make a living after graduation. I was concerned about the critical situation which had emerged since the 18 September incident. But I was merely concerned about it and did not know what to do. This was my mental status before the December 9th Movement. Subsequently, the situation in northern China worsened, and the students were worried. The December 9th Movement broke out when popular feelings were running high. Most of the students were involved in this movement. In the beginning, the spearhead of the movement was directed at the Japanese imperialists and traitors. At that time, the students did not split into leftist and rightist groups but stood for resistance against the Japanese aggressors and for national salvation, and opposed the selling out of northern China and the setting up of the Hebei-Chahaer political work committee. In terms of the ideological trend, patriotism played a dominant role in most of the young people. This was the first step in the ideological process of young people at that time. However, the students who demanded defending the motherland and driving out the Japanese aggressors were suppressed by the government. In the beginning, some students who cherished hope for the Nanjing government began to "present petitions" to the government, which subsequently forbade them to "love the country" and declared that "loving the country was a sin." This aroused the students' indignation against the government. They turned their "petitions" into demonstrations. This was the second step in their ideological process. After the demonstrations on 9 and 16 December 1935, a drastic change took place in the minds of the students in Peiping, who had no more trust in the domestic and foreign policies of the Nanjing government and its propaganda about defending itself. Who, then, should they rely on in their struggle against Japanese aggression? They vaguely understood through practice that they should "rely on the masses." I used the word "vaguely" because they had not made contact with the workers and peasants and could only feel the possibility of saving the country if the masses were mobilized, without an explicit understanding of the concept concerning the "strength of the masses." This was the third step in their ideological process. Soon after this, the Nanjing government ordered every university to send its representatives to Nanjing to "listen to its instructions," but the student union of each university issued a statement expressing point-blank refusal of the order. The Peiping Student Federation called on the students to go to the countryside, hence the large-scale propaganda activities coming from northern to southern China. This was a new trend in the December 9th Movement and may well be called a great beginning in the history of the student movement. The students who went to the countryside gained these following two points: First, they saw that the peasants really had the zeal to fight the Japanese aggressors. Although the peasants had meager

knowledge, their burning zeal to resist Japanese aggression could be ignited so long as they were educated to understand the relationship between their lives and the danger facing the nation. Second, they saw the miserable life of the peasants under the exploitative feudal system, and understood that to mobilize the peasants to rise in resistance against Japanese aggression, it was necessary to improve their living conditions. They also realized that the exploitative feudal system should be thoroughly abolished. Thus, apart from demanding national liberation, the students also desired to transform society. Their understanding was deepened. The emergence of the idea of transforming society was an important leap as well as a revolution in their ideology. This enabled them to embark on the road leading to the ideal of scientific socialism expounded by Marxism and to the target the Chinese communists had been striving for many years. Moreover, on the question of resisting Japanese aggression, the Chinese communists were the most resolute. It was natural for the students to regard the Communist Party as the main-stay of national liberation and social emancipation as well as a beacon in the dark. Therefore the students held the Communist Party in deep respect. This was the fourth step in their ideological process. As a result of the Nanjing government's policy of subjugation, which had infuriated the masses, some leftist students became even more radical. They were hostile not only to the KMT government, but also to social strata and groups and individuals connected with the government. They even estranged themselves from students who were temporarily middle-of-the-roaders. Between spring and autumn 1936, the leftist students began to receive education in the united front policy and to change their extremist attitude toward other students and noted public figures. They also changed their attitude toward the Hebei-Chahaer authorities and commanders and soldiers of the 29th Army (the leftist students were strongly opposed to them in the past). They put forward the slogans such as "Support the 29th Army in resisting Japanese aggression" and "Support General Song Zheyuan in resisting Japanese aggression." The leftist students could make a specific analysis of certain people in the KMT government and no longer adopted a "hostile" attitude indiscriminately. On the Xian incident, the students could quickly understand the importance of releasing Chiang Kai-shek and allowing him to return to Nanjing, and the policy of settling the Xian incident by peaceful means. This was the fifth step in their ideological process and suggested the gradual maturation of the ideology of young people during the period of the December 9th Movement.

These five steps indicate constant changes in the ideological process of the students. None of these changes was separate from Marxist scientific analysis or the ideological leadership of the party. From then on, we began to gradually understand that to defeat the powerful Japanese imperialists, it would not do just to rely on enthusiastic feelings. It was necessary to organize a powerful force and to apply correct methods, correct policies, and correct tactics. Although the party was a secret party at that time, we felt that we were guided by the party in our action. We believed that the party was correct and wise. Thus we followed the party and took the Marxist road.

Another student asked: "You said that each correct analysis during the December 9th Movement relied on Marxism. What about those Chinese and foreign politicians and thinkers who do not understand Marxism? Haven't

they achieved great successes, too? Must we rely on Marxism to know about truth?"

Comrade Jiang, who was sitting on a sofa in front of me, answered: "This requires a specific analysis. It is true that truth is not secret. Chinese and foreign politicians and thinkers can make some achievements and write some theories so long as they follow objective laws. These achievements and theories should be treated as the precious cultural heritage of mankind. However, they are usually partial, fragmentary, and impure and therefore do not have the perfection and soundness Marxism has. Marxism is a complete scientific theory established on the basis of analyzing the social and economic life in many European countries in the mid-19th century, summing up the experience in the workers' movement, and synthesizing the main excellent results of human culture. Although Marx and Engels stated that their works were not boundless truths but would develop with the development of production and science, the vitality of their works is limitless. We have said this time and again, but I must point out that having a good grasp of Marxism or not makes a world of difference. Take the Sino-Japanese war as an example. How arrogant the Japanese aggressors were at that time! They asserted that they could quickly destroy China's resistance. Under such circumstances, Comrade Mao Zedong made a scientific analysis in his article 'On Protracted War' explaining that the final victory in the war would belong to us so long as we persisted in the protracted struggle against Japanese aggression. He also made a scientific prediction on the different stages which would appear in the war of resistance against Japanese aggression. Contrary to this, some people propagated either the theory of 'national subjugation' or the theory of 'scoring rapid victory.' This suggests that to make a correct analysis of things and conscientiously develop truth, it is necessary for us to have a good grasp of Marxism. Of course, we also made great mistakes in this respect because our ideological line deviated from Marxism. But these mistakes were not the mistakes of Marxism itself."

Another student continued: "We are people of two generations. You lived in danger and disaster when you were young. What you thought about was saving the country, transforming society, and building a socialist society, giving little consideration to personal interests. Now we are living a stable life, so what we think is quite practical. Instead of thinking of the future, we give much thought to immediate personal interests, such as work after graduation, family problems, and the opportunities for going abroad. As for invigorating the nation and realizing the 'four modernizations,' let it be arranged by the party and the government. We will just follow." Another student said: "Of course, we have our own spiritual depression. There is still a gap between the realities of life and our ideals."

We old men began to air our views:

"We lived in a different era when we were young, and our tasks were different from yours. But the spirit in the struggle against Japanese aggression and for national salvation permeates our present-day work of revitalizing the nation. The relationship between the two generations is like that between two runners in a 'relay race.' The purpose is identical."

"The era we lived in was different from yours. We had a different environment, so our feelings were different from yours. Tasks and requirements set for young people at that time were also different from those nowadays. Our task at that time was to resist Japanese aggression and save the country, and we were required to go to the battlefield. Today's task is to carry out the 'four modernizations,' and young people are required to have lofty ideals and make contributions to the construction of the motherland. If we say that you are different from us, the 'difference' is that you should overtake us."

"We know from experience that during our participation in the revolution, everything was not as perfect as we had expected. Sometimes we also endured sufferings and felt wronged. We should admit that not everything in our life today is smooth sailing. There are also quite a number of knotty problems. But we should know that building a socialist mansion on this land of ours is a complicated project without a precedent. There are a lot of bundles left over from history on our shoulders, and we started this project amid the interference of unhealthy ideas from abroad. We should sort out the things in the bundles and throw away those which cannot be used. This determines that we will encounter obstacles and setbacks in our advance. Even disappointing and ugly things will arise unexpectedly sometimes. But we should believe that we can overcome all these. Wang Anshi of the Song Dynasty was a great reformist. Lenin once mentioned his name. He was quite learned and had much courage. He said: 'There is no need to fear change, there is no need to sympathize with gossips, and there is no need to imitate our ancestors.' What boldness of vision! However, he failed in his political reform in spite of the support from the emperor. Aiming merely at improving the feudal system, Wang Anshi's political reform was difficult enough, to say nothing of our socialist cause. Marxism has provided principles and methods for us but not a blueprint completely suited to our specific conditions. We should make decisions and work out specific methods in everything we do. It is impossible to build a perfect 'paradise' overnight; no one can do that. But anyhow, China's international prestige is greatly different from that during the period of the December 9th Movement, when we suffered endless humiliation. Both young and old men, I believe, will admit this. Our ideals are good, so are the realities of life. Of course, there is a certain gap between the two, and this is not strange. We should change the present conditions if we want to make our ideals come true. Why should you be depressed?"

A student said: "You took part in the December 9th Movement. You gave up your personal interests for the sake of the country. Some of you even sacrificed their lives for the country. We think highly of you. But we live in a different era today. Shouldn't we enhance the meaning of personal existence? Can this be a force promoting social development today? I would like to know your opinions."

After thinking for a while, Sister Tang said: "The relationships between the individual and the state, the collective, and society are relationships of the unity of opposites. Our party has consistently stood for respecting individual interests and combining individual interests with the interests

of the entity. However, individual interests should be subordinated to the interests of the entity. If necessary, a person should sacrifice his life for the interests of the entity. This does not mean overlooking individual ideas but allowing them to be displayed fully. The ideal of communism is to emancipate all mankind. With the emancipation of all mankind, the individual is also emancipated. No social system has ever allowed absolute freedom and the limitless expansion of individual ideas. Even in the most developed capitalist countries, people's speech and actions are restricted by the legal system, rules, regulations, and discipline of the countries. In the final analysis, these things protect the private ownership system and are manifestations of bourgeois ideas and interests. Individual ideas will be displayed to the fullest extent when mankind enters communist society, where the productive forces will be much, much higher than today's. Even so, some restrictions will still be necessary, otherwise social life will not be able to proceed normally. In the socialist society we are now building, importance is attached to collective mentality and the interests of the entire society, but this does not mean opposing the existence of reasonable individual interests. It is necessary to correctly handle the relationship between the two. It is true that in our society some individuals cannot have some of their demands met, but they should not strive for personal interests at the expense of the state and the collective. Instead, they should obtain their personal interests by promoting the development of social interests. If young people haggle over personal interests and do not have lofty ideals, their achievements will be very much limited and it will be very difficult for them to reach a brilliant destination."

A young student beside me said: "We have learned much from you today." Comrade Xu said: "The benefit is mutual. We have also learned much from many of you." Sister Tang added: "Maybe you will blame us for having rock-like brains as soon as you leave here." The young students answered: "No, no. We will make a comparison when we are home." Sister Tang asked: "Do your opinions represent the ideas of today's youth?" Two of the students said simultaneously: "We can only say that our opinions represent the ideas of some young people. Haven't the newspapers frequently given publicity to heroes sacrificing their personal interests for the sake of the collective? Some people say they are fools." Sister Tang said resolutely: "They are not fools. They are the mainstay of the Chinese nation!" I said: "Shouldn't we end our chat? If you don't mind, will you come again for a chat next time?" They agreed.

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## RANDOM TALK ON THE 'TEST OF OLD AGE'

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[Article by Shi Fei [0670 7216]]

[Text] In ancient times, many extremely foolish elderly emperors built many "long life palaces" and extensively looked for medicines that would give them the elixir of life, or long life, indulging in the fantastic idea of seeking "immortal life." And the result? They all failed in their efforts, as each and every one of them could not but go to the other world against their wishes.

As for the natural law decreeing that everybody will "grow old," no mortal has the power to oppose it. Nevertheless, the "approach of old age" is still viewed by some people with grief and sorrow. "The setting sun is truly beautiful, but dusk is fast approaching." This is the cry of sorrow of feudalist scholars vis-a-vis the "evening of one's life."

Despite the cry of sorrow, "dusk" must come inexorably. We communists fully understand that we must not "lament the approach of dusk," but must, in a materialist and open-minded manner, look at the aging, sickness, and death of a human being. We only wish: that in lifetime we shall not allow the years to aimlessly drift away; and that when death is near we would not reproach ourselves that our lifetime had passed in vain. We seek to live an upright and righteous life, doing benefit to all around us, die peacefully, with our heart at ease, and without leaving a bad name. We do hope for health and a long life, but we never feel sorrowful for, or regret, the "coming of old age," or, in particular, be frightened day in and day out by the thought of "death."

"Although dusk is approaching, our ambition glows as ever"; the "setting sun is indeed beautiful and the sunset glow is brighter than fire." This about describes the upright bearing and spiritual stature of many, many of our elderly revolutionaries in the "evening of their lives." Deng Chumin, an elderly revolutionary, kept on his struggles as long as he lived. He was 73 when he became a party member but he still made the following rigid demand of himself: "Despite old age and sickness, I must still study diligently and work hard." Wu Yuzhang, another elderly and senior revolutionary, worked hard all his life and exerted himself to the utmost. At the age of 81, he still

wrote a "motto" and ceaselessly encouraged himself: "Though the early years have gone by, the evening of my life is still not quite advanced"; "Guard against arrogance and rashness and never be idle or negligent." The celebrated scientist Yen Jici climbed all his life the rugged steps of the ladder of science. At the advanced age of 80, he gloriously became a party member. With a deep sense of pride, he said: "Although I am now an old man of 80, I have no feeling of being in the evening of life. On the contrary, I am still highly in spirit and am as ambitious as ever." Life has many "barriers" and the "old age barrier" is a glaring one of them. Among our revolutionary ranks, revolutionary elderlyies who resemble the sunset glow as being brighter than red fire are found everywhere and are indeed countless in number.

Naturally, when a person reaches the "dusk" in life, despite the presence of a fiery ambition, he will feel his energy to be weakening steadily. If one is at an advanced age and still wants to stay at his post, he may manage to carry on despite occasional indisposition but the chances are that he may frequently commit errors, and he would be far better off if he could "retire" at the appropriate time so as to enable the revolutionary enterprise to progress at a far better pace. At the recent National Conference of Party Delegates, outside of a small number of elderly comrades who are still healthy in physique, enjoy public support and repute and must remain at their posts because of the needs of the state, many elderly comrades, aware of the great moral obligation, being frank, open-minded, and selfless, one after another offered to go into retirement. By means of actual deeds, they took the lead in establishing the new style of the cadres' ability to go up and step down; they took the lead in abolishing the existing system of an office or appointment for life; and they took the lead in promoting the course of making the cadre ranks revolutionized, become younger in average age, acquire more knowledge, and generally specialized. This is another great deed and shining example of triumphantly passing the "old age barrier."

Furthermore, even after retirement, there is still the problem of "passing the barrier." After several tens of years of military life or involvement in busy desk work, one may feel unaccustomed to a sudden retirement and may not feel at ease in spirit. Comrades of this kind should follow the example of the revolutionary elderly comrades, being elderly in age but not in heart, retiring physically but not in heart, and retiring physically but not in spirit. Though no longer taking up any leadership burden, they should all the time be concerned with the big events of the party and of the state and with the sufferings of the people and should, within the scope of their ability, resort in various ways to serving the party. But they should never make use of their "remnant power or authority" to acquire private gain but should firmly insist on using their "remaining heat and energy to generate electricity" so that the remaining years of their lives may continue to glow and shine. Is this not precisely the style or pattern of the last years of our Communist Party members and revolutionaries?

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## ON THE LAND OF HEROES--NOTES ON A VISIT TO KOREA

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 85 pp 39-41

[Article by RED FLAG correspondent]

[Text] When the maple leaves turned red in October, a four-member RED FLAG delegation set their feet in the land of heroes--Korea, at the invitation of Korea's KULLOJA.

The 35th anniversary of the Chinese People's Volunteers' participation in the Korean war fell on 25 October. As we were present at the right moment, we took part in important activities to commemorate Sino-Korean friendship. Our 2-week stay in Korea was substantial in content and full of friendship. The things we saw and heard left a profound impression on us. The mountains and rivers were beautiful and the people were enthusiastic and hardworking. Full of vigor and vitality, Korea makes progress with each passing day.

Our first impression was of the gratifying successes achieved by the Korean people in rebuilding their country after the war. Korean comrades told us that during the war of liberation, the enemy dropped 420,000 shells on Pyongyang turning the whole city into scorched earth. With immense pride the aggressors asserted that it would be impossible for Korea to restore its prewar prosperity, even in 100 years. However, we discovered that Pyongyang, 32 years after the war, has become a beautiful city with a cluster of modern buildings. We stayed at the Gaoli Hotel, a 44-story building with a rotating restaurant. A bird's-eye view of Pyongyang could be seen from the rotating restaurant. In addition, there were also a number of magnificent buildings. We visited the Central Tower, Triumphal Arch, Great Study Hall of the People, Museum of the Victory of the National Liberation War, and mass transit railway. These buildings were magnificently shaped and well distributed. The statues and frescoes of ideological and artistic quality left a deep impression on us. The neat and peaceful appearance of Pyongyang outstripped many large cities of other countries. Within the urban area, there were no factories and rubbish that could pollute the city. Green trees, lawns, and flower terraces could be seen everywhere. There were also schools and children's playgrounds in-between the tall buildings. All this indicated the rapid speed of the Korean people in rebuilding their country and their farsightedness in urban construction and planning.

Thanks to the careful arrangements made by our host, we visited factories and farms and witnessed the remarkable successes achieved by the Korean people in industry, agriculture, education, and culture.

We paid a visit to a heavy machine-building plant in Nampo. The processes of the plant, from semifinished products to finished products, were mechanized and automated. Besides providing fine conditions for production, the plant also built residential houses, schools, cinemas, libraries, and other facilities for the workers. We also visited construction projects including a dike and a large sluice. We were moved by the daring of the Korean people to reshape nature.

At a Sino-Korean friendship cooperative farm in Taekum, we visited kindergartens, shops, and farm machine plants. We discovered that a high level of mechanization has been reached in Korea's agricultural production. The process from rice transplanting to harvest in many farms was mechanized.

When we sped along the expressway toward Wonsan and other cities, we found that Korea has done a very good job in afforestation work. All the mountains and hills were covered with different kinds of trees. When we reached Kumgang-san and looked at Shangganling Mountain in the distance, the female guide from Kumgang-san told us that only a few trees were left after the war and most of them were punctured by shell fragments. Now the mountains and hills are covered with dense forests once again.

The fact that the Korean comrades attached great importance to cultural and educational undertakings, and the successes they made in these fields, left a deep impression on us. Since 1975 Korea has implemented an 11-year compulsory education system. The students do not have to pay school fees. In addition, the state provides them with uniforms. Apart from the sacred revolutionary places and memorial buildings, schools and children's palaces are the best buildings in Korea. Korea's higher education has also developed relatively fast. We had an opportunity to visit Kim Il-song University. The university campus occupied an area of over 1.5 million square meters with a floor space of over 300,000 square meters of buildings. The university is composed of a main building with an area of 13,500 square meters and two 2-story buildings with a total area of 100,000 square meters. The university also plans to erect another tall and magnificent building. The university library, reading room, and self-study room provide the students with a fine environment in which to study. Specimens of Korea's rich resources including ores, animals, and plants were on display at the university museum. Founded on 1 October 1946 with only a few faculties, this was Korea's first university. Now the university has 14 faculties with more than 90 teaching and research sections and 8 graduate schools and research centers. More than 10,000 students from Korea and abroad are studying at the university. Moreover, some faculties split up from the Kim Il-song University and developed into the Kim Chaek Engineering University and a number of other colleges. Pyongyang alone has more than 10 universities. Besides Pyongyang, each province also has a number of universities.

Korea pays great attention not only to school education, but also to social education. It provides favorable conditions for the workers to engage in part-time advanced studies. The Great Study Hall of the People, a grand building with distinctive national features and modern equipment, is regarded by the people as "a central base for social intellectualization and a seat of learning for the whole people." Its library has a collection of 30 million books. In the grand building that covered an area of 100,000 square meters, there are hundreds of reading rooms, classrooms, recording rooms, and consultative offices. People used these rooms for reading, listening to lectures, and holding discussions. In the recording rooms, some youths were reading foreign books and newspapers with recording aids; in the video-recording rooms, people were listening to lessons they had missed; and in the music rooms, people were enjoying their favorite music with earphones. The services are all offered to the people free of charge.

During our stay in Korea, we were deeply moved by the profound feelings of the Korean comrades toward China. We were also immersed in the warm atmosphere of Sino-Korean friendship. During our meeting with the leading comrades of Wonsan and Kaeson, friendship cemented with blood was the main topic of our conversation from beginning to end. Despite pressure of work, Chong Chun-ki, candidate member of WPK [Workers Party of Korea] Central Committee's Political Bureau and vice prime minister, met with members of the RED FLAG delegation. During the meeting, Comrade Chong Chun-ki highly praised China's successes achieved since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. He explained to us Korea's achievements made in construction and its stand on national reunification. He also made enthusiastic remarks on friendship between the two countries. He said that the visit of the RED FLAG delegation to Korea added glory to Sino-Korean friendship and also enhanced friendship and understanding between the two theoretical periodicals. He wished that the two countries and two periodicals could fight hand in hand and do their best to safeguard and develop friendship between themselves.

The Korean people, men and women, old and young, were especially enthusiastic whenever they heard of the arrival of Chinese comrades. At a Sino-Korean friendship cooperative farm in Taekum, the children of a kindergarten sang Chinese songs and performed Korean dances for their Chinese uncles and aunts. They clasped hands with us tightly expressing their reluctance to part. When we arrived at the Sino-Korean Friendship Tower on 25 October to lay wreaths for the martyrs of the Chinese People's Volunteers, many Korean comrades gathered there earlier than us. While at Kumgang-san, the first thing the female guide told us was: "The weather was a bit cloudy yesterday. With the arrival of the Chinese comrades today, the weather has become fine." When we were visiting the Nampo dike, the members of the Chinese People's Volunteers delegation were already there. They arrived and left earlier than us. The heroes of the Chinese People's Volunteers delegation were warmly greeted by the local people. An officer of the People's Army regarded it as a great honor to tell us about the grand occasion. Among the delegation, we told him, there was a hero called Cai Yunzhen who was found after 33 years' efforts. At this moment, the comrade from the People's Army said with deep regret: "Oh! Why didn't you tell us before? If we knew that he was here,

we would have carried him on our shoulders!" The sincerity of his remarks fully embodied the profound feelings of the Korean people toward the Volunteers.

Precisely for this reason, when we bade farewell to the Korean comrades, they embraced us tightly and were unwilling to part until it was time for the train to start. As the train was slowly leaving the platform, we waved to each other, looking forward to our next meeting. We returned home with a train full of friendship and pleasant memories.

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## IDEALS ARE THE SPIRITUAL MAINSTAY OF LIFE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 85 pp 41-43

[Article by Wei Yingmin [7614 5391 2404]]

[Text] Ideals are the desires which guide people toward the good and the beautiful; they represent attainable life goals. Each one of us should have ideals; only with ideals can a life be called a genuine life.

There are different levels of ideals. Life ideals, professional ideals, moral ideals, and other specific ideals are all necessary for each one of us. Who would not like a better material and cultural life? Who would not like a home full of happiness, or a job which wholly makes full use of his own talents? However, for a long time, under the influence of "left" guiding thinking, people's ideals were often directed solely toward their personal interests, and these personal individualist ideals were often divorced from, or even placed in opposition to, the long-term interests of the working class. It was as if these long-term ideals had absolutely nothing to do with daily life. This sort of viewpoint and way of acting is patently one-sided and unrealistic. However, when we set about correcting this sort of "left" attitude, we should also guard against another tendency, which is to stress only concrete ideals, and to see long-term ideals simply as "empty dogma," thereby putting long-term and concrete ideals in opposition to each other from the other extreme. This sort of attitude and way of acting is clearly also mistaken. In fact, people's ideals are many-sided and multilevel. These different levels of ideals are interdependent and mutually supportive. The highest of these levels and the most valuable is the level of long-term communist ideals. The short-term goals of these long-term ideals are the revitalization of China, the implementation of the four modernizations, and the building of a highly democratic, highly cultural, strong socialist country; while the long-term goal is the achievement of communism. What we mean by the possession of ideals is mainly the possession of this common social ideal, such that one is guided by it, and it dominates the specific personal ideals one may have. These personal ideals are then in line with the overriding social ideals. Only if a person thus combines his personal ideals with this common social ideal, sees his personal ideals as simply a part of the whole social ideal, and sees the latter as his inspiration, can he effectively achieve his own personal ideals and genuinely become a person with ideals. Today, only by becoming clear on the question of historical

inevitability, and by linking one's own work and study with the lofty ideals of revitalizing China and achieving communism, can life really have value or meaning.

#### Ideals Are the Lights Guiding Us on the Road of Life

A life with ideals is one of the hallmarks of human social life. People always look to the blueprint of their ideals to transform nature, society, and themselves. The historical process of human social development from the realm of necessity to the realm of freedom represents a process, under the guidance of ideals, of achieving one goal, then going on to achieve a higher one, and so on. Though in different societies and in different periods of time the social goals pursued will have different characteristics, nevertheless, for any progressive person, the liberation of their race, the prosperity and happiness of the people, and the progress of society always form the core of the social ideals they pursue. It is under the guidance of just these ideals that they are given the energy and inspiration to carry on the struggle regardless of personal interests, and to fight heroically for mankind. Though our current historical conditions are different from those of the revolutionary period, nevertheless in the struggle for the building and protecting of the motherland, there is an equal need for lofty goals to light our way on the road of life.

Human life may be divided roughly into three types. First, a fatuous life of drifting along, eating and sleeping, with no particular aim. This is a life devoid of ideals or indirection, and cannot be of any use or make any contribution. Second, the pure pursuit of personal fame and power. A person leading this kind of life will do anything for his own benefit, no matter whether it harms other individuals or the public good. This sort of "ideal" is pathetic and contemptible. Third, a life in which lofty social ideals and personal ideals are unified, but in which, when some contradiction or conflict arises between the two, personal ideals are subordinated to lofty social ideals. A person living this kind of life considers that the meaning and value of life lie in giving, not taking, and he therefore contributes his limited life to the unlimited tasks of serving the people.

The great inventor Edison said: "My philosophy of life is work; I want to discover the secrets of nature, and thereby to enrich people's lives. I do not know of anything better in this short life of ours." The communist soldier Lei Feng said: "One's own life is for the purpose of bettering the lives of others." Both in the past and the present, the greatness of many great people lies in their contributions to mankind, and the reason for their ability to contribute has lain in their possession of lofty ideals, and their glorious wish to work for the liberation and progress of mankind, or for the realization of communism. Only this sort of life has meaning and value; only this kind of life is worth living.

That a life with ideals lights the way is of particularly clear importance in adversity. How, otherwise, could a genuine "horse herder" not die, and continue to live in a situation of unredressed injustice, when his wife and children had all been scattered? He himself said that it was ideals and

confidence which enabled him to walk the bumpy road of life for 22 years, and to bear up under all sorts of heavy pressures. His achievements provide vivid proof of the fact that the long-term ideal of communism lights our way on the road of life, and only with this sort of ideal can life shine with eternal brilliance.

#### Ideals Represent Massive Spiritual Motivation for Changing Reality

Ideals come from real social life, and are at the same time higher than real social life. In reality, there exist both truth and beauty, and also falsehood and evil; while lofty ideals are the concentrated epitome of truth and beauty. Contradictions between ideals and reality represent contradictions between "what ought to be" and "what is." Ideals belong to the realm of "what ought to be." Precisely because an ideal is something which "ought to be," it is higher than reality, and can therefore become a valuable goal for people to fight toward, and a massive force inspiring people to fight for progress. Chernyshevskiy said that a person who has never been inspired by the desire to contribute his life can never do anything great. Lofty revolutionary ideals represent the spiritual motivation to forge ahead and change reality, and the source of strength to win victory over difficulties. It is simply not possible for everything to go right for a person, and without the possession of lofty ideals as a spiritual mainstay, it is quite possible that a person will become despondent in the face of the first problem or difficulty.

Today, our whole party and the people of the entire nation are faced with the great historical task of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. We must carry out the four modernizations, quadruple gross industrial and agricultural output value by the end of the century, and then, after 50 years of hard work, bring out economy up to the level of the advanced countries of the world. What are we to rely upon to achieve this arduous and glorious historical task? Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out that "we must definitely educate our people frequently, especially our young people, to have ideals. How was it that in the past we were able to struggle in the face of extreme difficulty, and overcome a thousand hardships and dangers to achieve the victory of the revolution? It was precisely because we had ideals, faith in Marxism, and faith in communism." (Deng Xiaoping, "On Having Ideals, Morals, Culture, and Discipline," p 5) This tells us that today, only if we have the inspiration of communist ideals, can we maintain the right orientation, sturdy faith, and the strength to overcome all sorts of difficulties and properly carry out the economic and other reforms, and build socialism with Chinese characteristics.

Due to the fact that the lingering poison from the 10 years of turmoil has not yet been entirely eliminated, and due to the fact that in opening up to foreign countries it is impossible to avoid the infiltration of corrupt bourgeois thinking, some seriously unhealthy tendencies have arisen in the process of the economic reforms. Some people who have impure party spirit have used their power for private gain, have harmed others to benefit themselves, have been open to corruption and bribery, have engaged in speculation and profiteering, and have distorted the reform into "doing everything

for money," seriously damaging the prestige of the party in the eyes of the people. The main reason why this sort of problem has appeared is that there has been a change in these people's thinking; they have abandoned the ideal of communism. They have forgotten the principles and tasks of communists; they have forgotten that the four modernizations imply not just modernization, but socialist modernization. Just because of this, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has repeatedly stressed the need to strengthen education in ideals and discipline. The achievement of the four modernizations and the implementation of the reforms requires cadres, party members, CYL members and young people who have the tremendous courage to break new paths, the will to change reality, and the ability to create new things. Only people who do not forget the long-term communist ideal, and have sound faith in it, can make effective attacks on these unhealthy tendencies, and undertake their important task.

#### Ideals Represent the Qualities and Guarantees of a Rich Life

The pursuit of prosperity is a normal human desire, but what ultimately is real wealth? There are all sorts of interpretations. Some people consider that wealth means eating and dressing well, and having a good time. In other words, a fulfilled individual life is what wealth means. This could be said to be a narrow, small-town concept of wealth. Of course, it cannot be denied that a full material life is one of the important factors composing a rich life, but this is by no means everything. The material lives of the character Jue Hui in the novel "Home," of Dai Baoyu in the novel "Dream of the Red Chamber," and of Nora in the play "The Doll's House" were all very rich, but they by no means felt rich themselves. In capitalist countries, many people lead lives of debauchery and luxury, but their spirits are empty and their inner hearts sad and bitter; they do not feel rich either. The reason for this lies in the fact that people are social animals, and have not only material pursuits, but spiritual needs. Without a spiritual mainstay, man is nothing more than an animal, and however rich and luxurious his material life, he has no real riches to speak of.

At present, there is a mistaken attitude, which is that "ideals are empty," "communism is a vague and distant illusion," and "the most substantial things are eating, drinking, and being merry." Seeing food, drink, and entertainment as the riches of life, and making them into the ideal to be pursued, is really too paltry and insignificant, and cannot but be condemned by anyone with ideals. The great physicist Einstein held these crude ideals in the utmost contempt, and called them "the ideals of the pigsty."

Riches mean a sense of satisfaction that a person has about life, and include both material and spiritual things. Material things form the basis, and spiritual things form the soul. The material life of mankind is different from that of animal, in that the former is pervaded with spiritual factors; it is a material life supported by certain ideals, knowledge, and consciousness. Without genuine life ideals, people cannot feel genuinely rich however materially well-off they are.

People must always have little spirit, or this or that sort of ideals. But only purely scientific ideals which are in line with the trends of historical development can both have their source in reality and be higher than reality. Therefore, these ideals are able to guide and change reality. Lofty ideals have an especially important place in the whole of a person's life. They are not only one of the vital factors in a rich life, but are the guarantee of that rich life, and the spiritual mainstay of a person. Only under the guidance of these lofty ideals can a person's life genuinely be rich.

There is a similarity between ideals and reality. Reality breeds ideals, and in turn ideals can be transformed into reality. The conditions for this transformation are practice and hard struggle. Mao Zedong said: "The establishment of the socialist system has opened up for us a road to the realm of ideals, while the achievement of the realm of ideals must depend on our diligent work." (Mao Zedong: "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") Communist ideals are scientific ideals which accord with historical inevitability, and even if the road forward is a tortuous one, we are of the firm belief that after generations of hard struggle, it can ultimately be achieved.

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WHAT IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE BALANCE OF THE GENERAL DEMAND AND SUPPLY AND THE BALANCE OF FINANCE, CREDIT, GOODS AND MATERIALS, AND FOREIGN EXCHANGE?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 85 pp 44-45

[Article by Tian Jianghai [3944 3068 3189]]

[Text] To have a clear understanding of the relationship between these two categories of balances, it is necessary to have first a general knowledge of the two categories of balances themselves.

The balance of the social gross demand and gross supply may have two calibers. One is the balance of the social demand with the capacity to pay formed by the compensation funds, consumption funds, and accumulation funds with the gross volume of the social material goods represented by the social gross output value. The other is the balance of the gross demand formed by the accumulation funds and consumption funds with the gross supply of the national income. The difference between these two calibers is that the former is larger than the latter by the balance of the demand of the compensation funds and the supply of material resources used in compensation. Because this portion of the balance is comparatively simple and easy to handle, people usually have stressed the latter caliber. In reality, there is a liaison between these two calibers of balances. In realistic life, the use of compensation funds as accumulation funds has frequently happened and, moreover, among the three big social funds (compensation funds, accumulation funds, and consumption funds), the ratio of the compensation funds is the largest. Hence, to overlook the balance of supply and demand of this portion may affect the balance of the latter caliber and also affect the coordinated operation of the whole national economy. Therefore, in stressing the latter caliber of balance, adequate attention should also be paid to the former caliber of balance.

The balance of finance, credit, goods and materials, and foreign exchange includes their own separate balances and their reciprocal overall balance. In the field of national finance, financial revenues are formed through centralizing portions of the net receipts of the diversified forms of economy by means of taxation and profit deliveries (profit deliveries will disappear with the full completion of the procedure of paying taxes in lieu of delivering profits) and financial expenditures consist of budget appropriations for purposes of economic construction, cultural construction,

national defense construction, and improvement of the people's standard of living. Under ordinary conditions, there should be a balance of revenues and expenditures, leaving a little surplus. As for the balance of credits and loans, it has reference to the banks forming receipts of credit and loan funds through accepting the Finance Ministry's appropriations of credit and loan funds and deposits of funds and organizing enterprises' deposits, savings deposits of residents, and issuance of banknotes and also refers to the banks making payments from credit and loan funds in the form of loans to certain departments and units requiring funds for purposes of production, construction, and circulation. The receipts and payments should be balanced. Finance and credit are two important tools for the state to centralize and distribute funds. In general, financial balance is the foundation of balance in credit and loans. Balance in goods and materials refers to the balance of the gross supply of goods and materials formed by domestic production, foreign imports, and the use of stocks in store and the gross demand for goods and materials for social production and consumption. The balance of the supply and demand of goods and materials is the material foundation for the balance in finance and that in credit and loans. Balance in foreign exchange is the supplement to the balance in domestic finance, credit and loans, and goods and materials. A proper use of foreign funds is beneficial to the country's economic development and technological progress but borrowing foreign funds and outlay of foreign exchange should conform with the capacity to repay.

Balance between finance and credit and loans reflects the internal balance relationship of funds; balance between finance, credit and loans, and foreign exchange reflects the balance relationship in financial power; balance of finance, credit and loans, and foreign exchange with goods and materials reflects the balance relationship of financial power and material power; while balance between finance, credit and loans, and goods and materials and foreign exchange reflects the balance relationship of internal economic construction and the use of international funds and goods and materials. To put it briefly, they are nothing more than the balance of receipts and payments of funds, balance of supply and demand of goods and materials, and the reciprocal balance of financial power and material power.

An understanding of the general contents of the balance of social gross demand and gross supply and the balance of finance, credit and loans, goods and materials, and foreign exchange makes it clear that the relationship between these two categories of balance is extremely intimate. Experience from actual practice has told us that balance of social gross demand and gross supply generally creates the precondition for the sustained, stable, and coordinated development of the national economy and in turn ensures the balance of finance, credit and loan, goods and materials, and foreign exchange. On the other hand, whether or not there are separate balances of, and reciprocal balances between, finance, credit and loans, goods and materials, and foreign exchange produces extremely great effects on whether or not there is a balance of social gross demand and gross supply. This is because, starting from the production of the social gross product to its first distribution and second distribution and the ultimate formation of the compensation funds, consumption funds and accumulation funds along with the making of their monetary form suited to their material object form, their realization requires in the process finance and

credit and loan as the media, passing through the balancing and regulating of the demand and supply of goods and materials and the making of suitable adjustments in the amounts of foreign exchange receipts and disbursements according to the conditions.

As for the balance between the gross amount of the accumulation funds and consumption funds and the gross amount of the national income, it needs to be pointed out that there is a difference between the used or expended amount of the national income and the production amount of the national income. The production volume of the national income refers to the net production value of the national economy created in the country in a stated period, while the used or expended volume of the national income refers to the funds ultimately realized in uses for accumulation and consumption. In actuality, the two should be identical but due to various factors, the used or expended amount of the national income may be larger or smaller than the production amount of the national income. The factors include: In external economic intercourse, it occasionally happens that there are favorable and unfavorable balances of trade and it is necessary to use foreign capital and to repay loans; it may be necessary to use reserves of preceding years to increase accumulation and consumption in the current year and also to use compensation funds to increase accumulation and consumption; and in matters of computation, errors may occasionally creep in. Hence, it is extremely important for the various sectors, such as finance, credit and loans, goods and materials, and foreign exchange to achieve their separate balances and reciprocal balances on the basis of the production volume of the national income.

Moreover, viewed from the balance of the sum total of accumulation funds and consumption funds in value (monetary) form and the gross amount of the national income in the form of use value (goods in kind), the effects of the balance of finance, credit and loans, goods and materials, and foreign exchange on the balance of gross demand and gross supply are even more direct and obvious. Certain conditions may arise which may cause an imbalance between the total of accumulation funds and consumption funds in monetary form (representing the gross volume of demand which has the ability to pay) and the total of the accumulation funds and consumption funds of the form in kind (representing the gross volume of supply backed by goods in kind). The conditions include: production of the social product and of the national income does not reach the anticipated gross amount, but society's various kinds of expenses are made in accordance with the anticipated amount of the national income; or, consumption of materials in social production surpasses the anticipated target, the portion of social products used in compensation is increased resulting in a reduction in the portion of means of production available for accumulation, or certain products without use value are included as value as part of the actual national income and arranged to meet various uses; the gross volume of labor compensation (including salaries and wages, bonuses, and allowances) made in the first distribution of the national income surpasses the original target, and reduction in the portion of surplus products of the national income but finance still arranges for various kinds of expenditures in accordance with the originally anticipated gross amount of surplus products; in the course of the redistribution of the national income there are unreal receipts but real payments in finance,

insufficient income to meet outlay, in credit and loans total amount of loans is larger than deposits, unreal deposits but real loans, poor or bad loan accounts, banks increasing their banknote issuance without adequate reserves in kind (banknote issuance for financial purposes), fluctuations in commodity prices bringing about a demand for financial subsidies and in turn a financial deficit, and imbalance in international payments. In actual life, this type of imbalance is frequently manifested in gross demand surpassing gross supply. Therefore, in order to maintain a balance between social gross demand and gross supply, it is necessary to adopt effective measures to control demand in the various sectors of finance, credit and loans, goods and materials, and foreign exchange.

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## WHY IS IT NECESSARY TO MAKE THE BUILDING INDUSTRY THE SUPPORT INDUSTRY OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 85 pp 45-46

[Article by Hu Yingying [5170 3853 3853]]

[Text] According to the current method of classification, civilian buildings include residences, schools, cinemas, gymnasiums, hospitals, restaurants, stores, hotels, municipal public facilities, parks and forests, and office buildings of enterprise units and are classified as building products of a nonproductive nature. In civilian buildings, residences make up a rather large proportion. In our country, of the gross amount of the building cost of new houses built each year by construction enterprises owned by the whole people, the proportion of the building cost of residences is around 45 percent. Each year, of the houses completed, the area occupied by residences is roughly 55 percent of the total. It may be said that residences constitute the principal product of the building industry. In general, the construction and development of residences have an important effect on the national economy.

1. Residences constitute one of the basic means of livelihood of human beings. So long as there is a congregation of people, there exists a demand for residences. In particular, during a period of the economic development of a country, following the development of the economy and improvement in the people's standard of living, there is an increasing demand for more and better residences, and the volume of demand for residences will remain stable and large.
2. Residences belong to the category of fixed assets of a consumption nature and through the procedure of the input of funds, output of products, and the subsequent recovery of the investment in the construction, sales, and renting out of the residences, the national economy is provided with a considerable amount of accumulations.
3. Building of residences requires various kinds of building materials. This provides markets for the entire industry and their development leads to the development of the various related industries such as the steel, building materials, light, construction, transportation, and household electrical appliances industries.

4. Following economic development and the wishes of those looking for residences, the building standard of residences has kept on rising while the styles of the houses and the building materials are being continuously renovated. This promotes technological progress in construction designs, building artcraft, building technology, and the building materials industry in general.

5. The residence building industry belongs to the industry or trade of the labor-intensive type. Investments in residences directly or indirectly leads to a demand for labor power by the municipal basic facilities and urban tertiary industry, thus providing an increase in employment opportunities.

Hence, in many industrial advanced countries, the building industry with residences as the principal product has been a strong pillar of support of the national economy. In 1979, in the United States, the output value of the building industry amounted to \$226.9 billion, or roughly 5 percent of the GNP (the motor car industry accounted for only 2 percent), of which residence building occupied roughly 50 percent (building enterprises in the United States mainly contract for various kinds of civilian and military, private and public engineering construction projects), and the construction of residences, to a rather large extent, commands the development of the building industry and the whole national economy. In the GNP of the Federal Republic of Germany, 7.4 percent of the income came from the building industry while 6.7 percent came from the rental receipts of residences, respectively occupying the first place and the fifth place.

That the building industry plays the role of the supporting pillar of the national economy is obvious and can be seen readily. Unfortunately, for a prolonged period, its role has not been fully displayed in our country. Since the founding of the PRC, the state's investments in residential construction have amounted to an aggregate of 120 billion yuan and the total area of residences completed was 1.15 billion square meters. Nevertheless, despite the input of a large amount of funds, not only the products, that is, the residences, of the building industry have not increased the accumulations of the state but also the industry itself has not, on its own strength, expanded reproduction, or raised its level of technology and equipment, or increased the welfare benefits to the staff members and workers. Moreover, because state-owned residences are not allowed to be put on sale (after 1979, certain cities and towns did experiment on enforcing the measure of giving residential subsidies or allow sales of residences at full value, but this has been done by only a very small number of cities) and because house rental has been too low, in fact insufficient to meet ordinary maintenance expenses, the more residences built the greater was the burden borne by the state. The basic cause lies in that in the past in the building and allocation of residences, a system violating the laws of socialist commodity economy was adopted. First of all, residences were not treated as commodities but as welfare objects. As a result, the procedure of building residences was not that of commodity production and commodity exchange and it was not possible to provide the state with any accumulations from recovery of the funds by means of sales or renting out of the houses. Second, the building industry was not regarded as a material production department but as

a consumption department which simply relies on state investments, being a subordinate part of the state's capital construction structure, devoid of a separate production plan and the power of independently handling the means of production and not endowed with any production or business profits (true, since 1979, a legal profit rate of 2.5 percent has again been prescribed but, in comparison with other industrial enterprises, this rate is very low indeed). This has literally stripped the building industry of the capacity of self-transformation and development.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping once pointed out that seen from the majority of the capitalist countries, the building industry is one of the three main pillars of the national economy. Indeed, the building industry is an important production department for developing production, increasing state revenues, and enhancing the accumulations of the state. With its development, more houses can be built and the needs of the people's livelihood can be better met. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the concept of the building department being a material production department and of residences being commodities has been gradually accepted by the populace. Through the reform of the economic structure of the building industry, the role of the industry in the socialist economy and its own development capacity have been steadily strengthened. Following the reform of the wages system, the rise in the income level of the people, reform of the urban residential system, and encouragement of the purchases of houses by the people, it will be entirely possible for residence building departments to have a regular source of income and the advantages of a system wherein the input of funds and the output of products rotate regularly, and, by means of the output of residences, the departments will be able to join the ranks in normal social reproduction, thereby becoming an important industrial department of the national economy.

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IMPLEMENT THE SPIRIT OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF PARTY DELEGATES AND RUN  
RED FLAG EVEN BETTER

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[Article by RED FLAG correspondent]

[Text] On 17-21 November, a meeting attended by RED FLAG liaison people was held in Kunming city in Yunnan Province. RED FLAG began using liaison people at the end of 1982. Liaison people have been sent to 29 provinces, municipalities, and autonomous regions and to the PLA General Political Department. This year, liaison people have also been sent to Guangzhou, Shenzhen, Wuhan, and Chongqing. The topic for discussion this time was to review the work of RED FLAG over the past year in accordance with the spirit of the National Conference of Party Delegates, and to discuss tentative plans for RED FLAG's propaganda work for next year.

Wang Renzhi, RED FLAG's deputy editor in chief, delivered a speech entitled "Implement the Spirit of the National Conference of Party Delegates and Run RED FLAG Even Better." He reviewed the work over the past year and explained the guiding thought for RED FLAG's vocational work. He said: To run RED FLAG well, we should uphold the four basic principles, stay in line with the CPC Central Committee politically and ideologically, and carry out our work according to the arrangements made by the central authorities. We should strive to comprehensively and accurately publicize the party's line, guiding principles, and policies, and consciously become a mouthpiece of the CPC Central Committee. We should stick to the principle of integrating theories with practice, strive to sum up and achieve new experiences in the process of building socialism with Chinese characteristics, explain and answer new questions and new situations arising in practice, and enhance the theoretical level of our articles with definite objects in view. He added: Over the past year, RED FLAG's propaganda work has been continuously progressing in the course of reform and has achieved some results. But we have not done enough. We should continue to make efforts, carry forward our achievements, overcome our defects, and run RED FLAG even better.

While talking about RED FLAG's tentative plans for propaganda work in 1986, Wang Renzhi pointed out: The National Conference of Party Delegates adopted a proposal for the Seventh 5-Year Plan and further carried out the work of replacing the old with the new, promoting cooperation between the old and the

young in the central leading organs. These two things are matters of primary importance which have a bearing on the situation as a whole. They are of great strategic significance. The speeches given by the five members of the Political Bureau Standing Committee comprehensively generalized historical experience since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee and systematically and profoundly expounded a series of important problems facing our party connected with guiding principles. These speeches pointed out the orientation of further advance so that we can persist in carrying out reform, promote a coordinated and stable development of the national economy, strengthen the building of spiritual civilization, and effect a fundamental turn for the better in our party work style and the general mood of the society. To put it briefly, RED FLAG's tentative plan for propaganda work next year is aimed at doing well the work of publicizing and implementing the spirit of the National Conference of Party Delegates, the ideas contained in the speeches of the five members of the Political Bureau Standing Committee in particular. In his speech, Wang Renzhi also explained in detail the issues of propagating the four basic principles which are the basis of our internal and foreign policies, correctly understanding the situation, persisting in reform, strengthening the building of socialist spiritual civilization, studying Marxist theories, and so on.

At the meeting, the liaison people exchanged information on the work carried out in various localities to implement the spirit of the National Conference of Party Delegates, promote the building of socialist spiritual civilization, and strengthen theoretical propaganda and theoretical and educational work. They also discussed their tentative plans for the future. They maintained that in accordance with the spirit of the National Conference of Party Delegates, while carrying out the building of socialist material civilization, we should promote the building of socialist spiritual civilization and conscientiously do ideological and political work. During the discussions, the participants brought up many theoretical and ideological questions with which people are concerned regarding theoretical propaganda and education. They believe that RED FLAG's tentative plans for propaganda work in 1986 are correct. They also made many positive suggestions for the improvement of RED FLAG's work.

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HER PERPLEXITY SHOULD SET THE WHOLE SOCIETY THINKING--REVIEWS THE TELEPLAY  
'A PERSON CALLED XU SHUXIAN'

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[Article by Zhong Yibing [6988 5469 0345]]

[Text] The teleplay "A Person Called Xu Shuxian" (produced by the Television Department of the Zhejiang Film Company), broadcast as part of the "National Teleplay" series, was one of the gratifying products of this year's teleplay writing. It did not receive a viewers' prize, nor did it have a complicated plot, nor did it include weird or grandiose scenes, and yet many people were moved by it and it prompted a lot of discussion. This is because it expressed its own unique qualities, presented unique characters, and brought up new problems.

The protagonist, a 53-year-old woman by the name of Xu Shuxian (in a splendid performance by Hu Zongwen), is one of the first generation of new China's teachers. Though she is already gray-haired, weak, and suffering from heart disease, she has the sincere, naive heart of a child, and trains her students day after day with feminine tenderness and warmth. When she takes on the position of teacher of the "rowdy class," her first step is to play cards and soccer with them, joke with them, and not act like a teacher at all. At the same time, she comes to understand the psychological state of her students and to affirm the side of them which is active and forward-looking. In this way, even the naughtiest student comes to understand the sincerity of his teacher, and the wide gap between teacher and students is bridged. On the basis of this mutual trust and understanding, Xu Shuxian diligently guides the children toward a respect for politeness, a love for the group, and a wish for progress, and achieves splendid results.

At the conclusion of the play, we are left with a deeply moving picture of an excellent teacher who is full of love toward her country, her students, and the future. This already makes it a successful artistic creation, but the important achievements of this play do not stop here. It portrays the activities of Xu Shuxian and her children against the complex background of today's transition from old to new. In particular, it concentrates on displaying certain factors within and outside the school which are not beneficial to the healthy maturing of young people, and the contradictions and problems which are thus created. This gives added depth to the main theme

of the play. Xu Shuxian teaches her students to be upright, sincere people and to suppress and oppose unhealthy trends. This is entirely in line with the demand for the rectification of party spirit, the changing of unhealthy tendencies in society, and social progress. However, there exists in society a force which cannot be overlooked, a force which pulls the children in the opposite direction. The teleplay brings out these contradictions from two angles: First, in order to enhance the material benefits of the teachers, teacher Xu is required to accept three students through the "back door." If the other students find out, they would suspect that Xu is a hypocrite. Xu Shuxian obviously realizes the serious consequences of this affair, and therefore resolutely refuses to carry out the wishes of the school, but this in turn damages her relationship with some of her colleagues. Second, there is the story of a graduate student, Li Danhe, who begins to study creative writing. Xu Shuxian gives Li Danhe's first work to her husband, who works for a literary magazine, and asks him to read and polish it and give guidance to this young writer. But all her husband cares about are his own interests and those of his family, and he totally ignores the hopes of this youngster, even losing the original draft of the essay. This both damages the innocent hopes and confidence of Li Danhe and brings indescribable suffering to Xu Shuxian.

Li Danhe says: "Teacher Xu, you are honest and good hearted, but we cannot learn from you in everything, otherwise we will not be able to cope properly in society." Watching this, I was terribly shocked! I thought: How sad and bitter teacher Xu must feel! This sadness and bitterness should encourage the whole of society to consider the question: Is the education and training of the new generation of young people solely the responsibility of teachers?

Naturally, Xu Shuxian does not withdraw from her post just because of the existence of these contradictions. After saying goodbye to her husband and daughter, who are going abroad to visit relatives, she continues to plant and cultivate the garden of education. She says to the smiling faces of the children, blossoming like flowers: "If I had my life to live over again, I would still be a teacher." It is my feeling that this teleplay both faces reality, not avoiding the contradictions, and also makes people think about life. It exhorts us: "Let the whole of society care about education!"

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END